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MAX GRUNWALD



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ABRAHAM ERLANGER

who died October 1, 1929, and who left a bequest to the Jewish Publication Society of America to be used "to defray the cost of writing or editing and publication of a specific work or works."

“We cannot know how much we learn
From those who never will return
Until a flash of unforeseen
Remembrance falls on what has been.”

EDWIN ARLINGTON ROBINSON.

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FOREWORD

The manuscript of this book on the history of the Jews of Vienna was prepared by Dr. Max Grunwald in German. The translation into English was made by Dr. Solomon Grayzel. The Publication Committee, for the purpose of making the book conform in size, style and general treatment to the other volumes in the Jewish Communities Series, asked Mr. Albert Mordell with this end in view to put the English manuscript into shape.

It was felt desirable for our editor to do the final proof reading so as to accelerate the publication of the book. This met with Dr. Grunwald's approval, and he did not personally read all the proofs.

The Publication Committee

INTRODUCTION

VIENNA! a magic name! a sea of beauty! One hears the strains of music;—Beethoven's thrilling and overwhelming pathos; Schubert's songs, full of yearning and deep emotion; the sweet Strauss waltzes; the moving melodies of Gluck, Haydn, Mozart; the art of Mahler, Gruenfeld and Kreisler, and the Viennese operetta;—they stir and waken the soul. Old and young know Vienna as the Capital of Music; but it is no less the Home of Medicine which, for several generations, those in quest of health have been visiting from all quarters of the globe. The names of Freud and Adler are on everyone's lips. In brief, whoever has seen Vienna carries away with him an enduring memory of this spectacle of beauty, and a store-house of recollections of the graceful art of living harmoniously, achieved through the aid of natural resources and by human contrivance. One may quote Julius Rodenberg's words: "In Vienna one always has the impression that some sort of holiday is in the air; one feels as though one were gazing at the sun through the stained windows of some church."

And what of Vienna of the past, the Vienna of world history? For centuries it was the capital of the Hapsburgs, mistress of a Rococo State, consisting of lands assembled from Western Germany and the innermost Balkans; it was the very center of Italian politics, and the advance-guard against the

storms beating from Turkey. Before the walls of Vienna the great Corsican suffered his first defeat. Here the Congress of Vienna met; and here Martenich settled the destinies of Europe. The German especially remembers that the Song of the Niebelungen originated in Vienna, and that for hundreds of years the city, like Weimar in the time of Goethe, was the favorite resort of poets. In Vienna, Joseph "the German" ruled, and placed Humanity upon the throne. In Vienna he created the first German National Theater, whose fame was bruited abroad by Sonnenthal to the East as well as to the West, across the Atlantic.

The Jew, however, thinks gratefully of this city for other reasons. Here first broke forth the earliest rays that lighted up with a glow the benighted darkness of medieval religious intolerance. Here was first enacted a just law which all Eastern Europe has since adopted as exemplary. Here lived the *Hakme Vina* (the Sages of Vienna), whose teaching and legislation fundamentally moulded Jewish communal life, which was in turn to have an influence upon other parts of the Diaspora. The *Wiener Minhag* of synagogue ritual, as Mannheimer and Sulzer established it, was adopted by numerous communities on both sides of the Atlantic. It was in Vienna that the hydra-headed hatred for the Jew was vanquished by Joseph Bloch, who exposed it in open court. Here Theodor Herzl reposes in his peaceful grave.

Vienna, once the Capital of the Eastern March, later of the greater Austria, and now once more of a

mere fragment of Austria's might and glory, harbored within its walls a Jewish colony from the earliest times. Surviving various catastrophes and resisting every effort to uproot it, this cloony attached itself to the country and its customs, and regarded it as its fatherland. For a century, from 1760 to 1867, the Jewish group patiently struggled for all the rights of citizenship, and finally attained them. This is the story which the following pages will unfold.

"The need of Judaism begins where the need of the Jew ends," is a saying one nowadays hears. It implies that the Jew forgets his Judaism as soon as the prison-house of the ghetto opens and the bonds of slavery are relaxed. Whatever truth there is in this generalization, it is not true of the Jews of Vienna in the same measure as it may be of Jews elsewhere. There have indeed been occasions when necessity, ambition, pride, or inclination led some Jews to turn aside from their faith. But on the whole, Judaism in Vienna has not lost its vitality since 1867, when its adherents obtained political equality. On the contrary, it has reasserted itself more persistently, and displayed more youthful vigor and increasing potentiality.

To be sure, external pressure upon the Jew has assumed new forms; anti-Semitism has flourished in Vienna and, like other political currents, has shaken loyalty to tradition in some Jewish circles, as well as their feeling of solidarity for their fellow Jews; it has undoubtedly slackened their devotion to their religious heritage. But, since the third

partition of Poland, and particularly since the barriers restricting travel were removed, new immigrants from the East have imprinted their own stamp of Judaism upon the Jews of Vienna. They not only filled in the gaps left by those who had fallen away from their people, but introduced new tendencies into the Jewish community. Nevertheless, the Viennese Jews have remained, on the whole, not only a unified cultural body that has made itself felt in the life of the city, contributing not a little to the specific ideas of liberalism, but they have shown for many decades a spiritual cohesion which has made it possible for them to maintain a united community down to the present day.

On three different occasions the Jewish community had to be founded anew. In all likelihood the earliest Jews, like the Flemings, were encouraged by the Babenbergs to settle in Austria for economic reasons. In the period of the Crusades, they made their appearance in Vienna as financial advisers, as they had done in the German courts. By following the policies outlined by Jews, the Dukes of Austria rose to positions of honor and achieved prosperity to such an extent that European emperors and kings sought to contract marriage alliances with the princesses of the Hapsburg family. In 1377, the Hapsburgs invited even foreign Jews to settle in Austria. While neighboring countries cruelly persecuted the Jews, the law protected them in Vienna. And yet, in 1421 the Jewish community was sent into exile and many of its members were burned at the stake. Like the members of the Order of the Templars in

France, the Viennese Jews had become the money-lenders, except that with them the choice was not voluntary; the unscrupulous Emperor Wenceslaus set an example by depriving his Jews of their wealth and then consigning them as a sacrifice to the spirit of greed rampant at the time.

A number of years later, Jews once more settled in Vienna as financial agents of the emperors. But in 1670, this settlement, too, was forcibly dispersed. At least one branch, taking root in Prussian soil, blossomed forth in Berlin. From this branch the Meyerbeer family and others noted even beyond Berlin were descended.

About ten years after the expulsion, an imperial agent, Samuel Oppenheimer, appeared in the City and soon laid the foundations of a new community which has remained to this day.

There are numerous indications showing to what extent the Jews have contributed to the spiritual, moral, economic and political development of the City. One need only think of the Viennese salon, of the circle of Arthur Schnitzler, of the journalism of Vienna, and of Daniel Spitzer.

The Jews of Vienna have been an important factor in shaping the course of Jewish history. As in the Middle Ages, so in more recent days, they have contributed to Jewish scholarship and enriched Jewish life. Viennese Jews have participated in Jewish movements and undertakings. Their achievements and their sorrows may be taken as typical of the fate of German Jews in general.

Although we now have to live through the tragic

events which have overtaken German Jewry, we are comforted by the hope that the Jewish community of Vienna, no matter how parallel its history has run until now to that of the communities of Germany, will nevertheless be spared the catastrophe which they have suffered. In the Middle Ages the Viennese Jews devoted their lives to God and accepted Messianic belief as prophecy. Later, feelings of patriotism and love for their adopted home awoke in them. A necessity becomes a virtue; the *Galut* ceases to be a period of transition and of enforced suffering, and becomes an end in itself, a lasting condition and a desirable one, in which the highest hope is the attainment of the Righteous State, sought after in common with one's fellow-citizens, with the right to live in it on equal terms with them. The threatening transformation of the Legal State into the Racial State which carries with it the danger of being deprived of human rights, as was the case in the Middle Ages, must be strongly resisted by means of unremitting defensive warfare. At the same time, the thought of Palestine stirs the hope that the ancient home of the Jewish people will be rebuilt.

BOOK I—THE FIRST GHETTO

CHAPTER I

POLITICAL CONDITIONS UNDER THE BABENBERG DUKES

THE EARLIEST EVIDENCE

THE first Jews who came to Vienna were, in all likelihood, traders, for, at the time when the earliest relations between the Jews and the territory of Vienna could possibly have begun, trading on a large scale lay, for the most part, in Jewish hands. Jewish tradesmen might well have reached Vienna now and then in the wake of the Roman army, as in a similar capacity they had touched other points on the Danube. But those Jewish merchants who were later active in international commerce in this vicinity are referred to in the oldest document as mere transients. Presumably, they traveled from Germany to Bohemia and Italy, as well as to countries in the opposite direction. This earliest document, the *Zollordnung von Raffelstätten* (the Customs-Regulations of Raffelstätten), dated in the year 906, demands that Jews pay as high a tax as "other merchants." Thus it is quite possible that the Jew Isaac, who, as interpreter, accompanied the embassy of Charles the Great to Haroun al Raschid and certainly passed through Vienna, met coreligionists

here. According to the account of the Jew Jakub, an active trade was maintained between Prague and localities to the East and the North. The route certainly touched Austria, and especially Vienna. For the city stood at the crossroads of the two main highways of European trade, the route from west to east by way of the Danube, and the road from north to south stretching from Nuremberg and Regensburg toward Venice. For this reason it is very probable that Jews settled permanently in Vienna as soon as economic interests attracted them to this point and political obstacles disappeared.

LEOPOLD V, FREDERICK I, LEOPOLD VI
(1177-1230)

Conditions favorable for Jewish settlement prevailed during the powerful rule of the Babenberg dukes, especially during the days of Leopold VI, who was anxious for the economic development of Austria. One cause for the settlement is, however, of such vital importance as to deserve special mention.

The right of coinage was one of the powers usually retained by the sovereign. In order clearly to establish his authority in this matter, Leopold V erected a mint in Wiener-Neustadt, and appointed, as Master of the Mint, Schlom (Solomon)—the first Viennese Jew known to us by name. The religious and military relations between Central Europe and Spain incline us to believe that Schlom originally came from that country. As early as the beginning of the eleventh century, Jews were acting as mint

masters in Christian Spain. Just as merchants from Regensburg and dyers of cloth and gardeners from Flanders were invited to settle in Vienna, so in all probability Jews were tempted from their Spanish homes and placed in charge of the ducal finances. For the proper administration of financial affairs, it was necessary first to possess a familiarity with the international money market—a requisite for trading on a large scale—and secondly to have far reaching connections for the purpose of buying the necessary precious metals and for circulating one's own coins. Such qualifications were to be found at that time in Germany only among the Jews. Jewish mint masters served in Germany at ecclesiastical courts like those of Trèves and Würzburg. Isaac Or Zaru'a, who was almost a contemporary of Schlom, includes, in his responsa, one which lays down the religious law prohibiting the Jewish master of the mint from allowing his Christian employees to stamp money on the Sabbath. This decision is one of the several proofs that it was usual to employ Jews in this capacity.

The post of Master of the Mint was among the highest in the country, since all the treasury officials were subordinate to him. Yet, Schlom seems never to have found that his civil post conflicted with his religious duties. It is to his credit that the coins of Vienna at this time were of full value, and therefore superseded the coins of the rest of Austria. Eventually they were circulated far and wide.

At a later date, princes sought to support their military expenditures by the manipulation of the

coinage, thus making their money generally unacceptable. Jews, too, were drawn into such practices as, for example, Bassevi by Ferdinand II and Veitel Ephraim by Frederick the Great. However, the Rabbinical Conference of Mayence of 1220 forbade the debasement and clipping of coins. As may be seen from the imperial privileges granted about this time to Speyer, Worms, Regensburg and Vienna, the Jews occupied themselves largely with money-changing. The decree of the Conference must have been decisive in its effects upon their livelihood.

No complaint is to be found against Schlom in any contemporary non-Jewish sources. The Jewish sources, moreover, offer glowing testimony to his character. He was the representative of his coreligionists before the Duke, who entrusted him with the management of all his lands and business, that is, with the entire financial responsibility of the State and the Court.

There is sufficient indication of the favorable political standing of the Viennese Jews in the twelfth century in the fact that Schlom possessed landed property in Vienna; that this property was outside of the district known to us as the first Ghetto of Vienna; that it involved him in litigation with a monastery; and, finally, that he employed Christian servants. The existence of a synagogue in Vienna proves that the Jews enjoyed complete freedom of worship. But their position was insecure, for it was the period of the Crusades when popular passion was aroused against them. Vienna was an important meeting-place, serving as a half-way station for the

crusaders, where many of them tarried for a while. Yet, unmindful of this, Schlom did not hesitate to punish one of his Christian slaves for theft, and to place him in custody. The slave's wife, thereupon, raised a cry. Some of the crusaders, accustomed to murdering Jews in their German homeland, made their way into Schlom's house and struck him down, and fifteen other Jews besides. That more did not meet their death shows that there was a small number of Jews in Vienna in comparison with the numbers in the cities along the Rhine. Frederick I, Leopold's successor, though himself an active crusader, avenged these murders by executing two of the ringleaders. The Dukes, not wishing to jeopardize their commercial interests, punished the murderers. They wanted the foreign Jewish capitalists, but not the impoverished refugees who had lost all their worldly belongings at the hands of the crusaders. It was only towards the end of the fourteenth century that a number of German Jews arrived from Regensburg, at that time the most important city of Germany. This immigration was due to the geographical proximity of the two cities and their business connections, and was in response to an invitation issued by the Duke to foreign Jews to come and settle in Austria.

FREDERICK II (1230-1246)

A short time after Schlom's death, another Jew acted as master of the mint in the Court. At that time the Ducal Court of Austria was one of the

richest in the Empire, and the impoverished emperors sought to be united in marriage with the Babenbergs. Furthermore, at the conclusion of peace with Andrew II of Hungary, Leopold of Austria promised to pay him in two instalments the huge sum of two thousand silver marks—that is two hundred thousand German Reichsmarks of the present day. As guarantor, he named the Jew, Teka.

As the name Teka is found upon a Jewish gravestone in Spain, Teka must have come from there. Teka made a payment for the King of Hungary to a knight, Simon of Arragon, at the Hungarian Court. Indeed, there is nothing astonishing in a Spanish Jew's being in royal service, especially as Count of the Treasury, a position which was really that of Minister of Finance. What is worthy of note is the abyss between the position of Teka and that of "Slaves of the Treasury" occupied by the German Jews in general. Teka possessed important estates in Hungary as well as in Austria. In all likelihood it was against his tenure that the decrees were directed which were wrested from the King in 1222, by virtue of which Counts of the Treasury and Officers of the Mint, and those in charge of taxes and of salt mines in Hungary, had to be of the nobility, and under no circumstances to be Jews or Ishmaelites. Jews had also been engaged in the salt industry as early as the tenth century.

Teka, who already possessed a house in Vienna, and soon thereafter occupied the position of State Banker of Austria, may really be considered the first Minister acting for both Austria and Hungary.

During the famine of 1235, while the war between Bohemia and Hungary was in progress, Frederick II (the Quarrelsome) of Austria, upon the advice of Teka and several other Jews in his service, placed an embargo upon the export of grain and probably also of wine. This had the effect of blocking Hungary's commerce with the West. In 1238, Emperor Frederick II granted the Jews a charter—an event which was of consequence not only to the Jews of Vienna but also to those of other countries which were afterwards to form the Hapsburg Kingdom.

Duke Frederick II waged a war with his namesake, the German Emperor. Vienna willingly opened its gates to the Emperor who, in order to assure himself of the continued loyalty of the Viennese, granted them a Privilege by which, no doubt at the request of the Jew-hating burghers, Jews were to be excluded from the leading offices. In a Privilege to the Jews of Worms, the Emperor had declared that the Jews in general, as well as their individual communities and persons, were to be considered the "Slaves of the Treasure Chamber" (*Kammerknechte*), that is royal property. Since Vienna had now become an integral part of the Empire, the Jews of Vienna were placed in a position similar to that of the Jews in German cities, such as Worms, which were also directly parts of the Empire. Nevertheless, the Privilege which the Emperor granted the Viennese Jews in 1238 contained a certain number of restrictions not to be found in the Privilege granted to the Jews of Worms. This was certainly due to the Emperor's desire to win over the anti-

Jewish clergy and burghers in Austria. For, while he did not need to consider these classes in other parts of the German Empire, he had to do so to strengthen his position in Austria.

By 1240, Austria, including Vienna, was once more in the possession of the Duke. He then rescinded all the decrees of the Emperor and, in turn, granted the Jews a Privilege which remained in force, and was considered the Palladium, the Magna Charta of the Austrian Jews, down to their expulsion in 1421.

In comparison with the contemporary Jewish legislation of Alphonso X of Spain, of Louis IX of France, or of Henry III of England, with the Church decrees of Innocent III and the recently convoked Fourth Lateran Council, or of the later popes, and with the degrading enactments of the Emperor Frederick II for the Jews of Sicily, this regulation of Jewish affairs by Duke Frederick II of Austria is like a "resplendent star on a dark night, a beautiful memorial to the tolerance and humanity of this Prince." The Charter did not contain any of the numerous humiliating features of those other decrees. On the contrary, it assured to the Jews at least one means of earning a livelihood, that of lending money at interest. Since they had been excluded from industry and from trade, which, as a result of the economic and legal development of the day, had fallen into the hands of the guilds, they were allowed to engage in an activity from which Christians were prohibited on canonical grounds. They were thus protected against competition. Moreover, bankers

from other countries were not permitted to compete with them.

At first glance, this restriction of the Jews to money-lending seems to have put them a step backward, compared to the Privilege of the Emperor, by which he granted them the right to carry on trade at least in wine, dyestuff, and drugs. Nevertheless, the Jews themselves must have looked upon the Emperor's concessions as of no great importance since these yielded very little profit. The proud and pomp-loving Duke, on the other hand, was surrounded by Jewish capitalists, or at least by such as knew how to raise capital to be employed for his state and personal expenditures. It was to his interest to maintain and protect them. Consequently, of the thirty articles of this Privilege, eleven dealt with money-lending and the protection of the Jews.

Money-lending was an unstable business and fraught with danger; when, in addition to these hazards the race-prejudice strongly prevalent is taken into consideration, it will be realized that additional regulations for the protection of the Jews were necessary. The Jews did not choose this occupation of their own free will, since their religious law, in letter and even more so in spirit, forbade them to engage in it. They were forced into it because of the development, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, of a Christian trading class, and of the system of guilds. As late as the sixteenth century, the authorities of Germany wanted to create new means of livelihood for the Jews. The town-clerk, Johann Purgoldt, showed that he thor-

roughly grasped the situation when he said that Jews who sought to pursue manual labor were hindered by guilds and by Christian master-workmen, and that those who sought to engage in trading found no customers. "That is why they are compelled to resort to money-lending," he added, "in order to keep themselves alive." And even though Christians, contrary to all Church prohibition, frequently exacted more than the legally established rate permitted to Jewish money-lenders, nevertheless, the term pawnbroker became identical with Jew. But the Jew was a pawnbroker only because he found every other means of livelihood closed to him, and because his right of residence, nay his very existence, depended upon this occupation. His was the odium, whereas the actual profiteers were the authorities who, from private motives, granted him a monopoly of the business. To this day the Jews suffer from the results of this degradation. In our day it is assumed that the physical and moral standard of social groups may be raised by changing their occupations, especially by resettling them in rural sections away from the crowded slums. Yet city life, which is held to be responsible for degrading conditions, is comparatively of recent development. It is not at all surprising that the Jews should have suffered by being compelled to sever all connection with agriculture, confined for centuries to an occupation distasteful to them, and forced to live in the cities wherein they were at all times subjected to conditions unwholesome in every respect.

The authorities also fixed the rate of interest, and when they allowed so high a rate as 173%, which is next to the highest rate ever permitted in the Middle Ages, it is but an indication of hazards accompanying the occupation in the territory of Vienna. Not infrequently, moreover, the Christian debtors were completely freed from their obligations to Jewish creditors by means of an act of grace on the part of the lord. Nor was it rare for the authorities forcefully to deprive the Jews of their possessions. Finally, one cannot overestimate the amount of profit from this business which, in the form of taxes, flowed into the coffers of the duke.

It was easy enough for the pawnbroker to fall under the suspicion of receiving stolen goods. From accusations of this nature, the new Privilege protected the money-lender by adopting a decision which rests upon talmudic law, and which, incidentally, is to be found also in the Privilege of Emperor Frederick II. When the pledge for a debt was proved to be stolen property of which the owner demanded restitution in court, he had to repay the pawnbroker the amount due, together with the interest. This law was first promulgated in the Jewish legislation of Henry IV for the Jews of Speyer in 1090.

As Jewish homes were frequently set on fire and robbed, the next regulation contained in the Privilege was especially important. If a pledge was destroyed through no fault of the Jew who had it in his possession at the time, he was permitted to take an oath that he lost some of his own property at the same time, and he was then absolved from the

obligation to restore the pledge. Nothing is said here of the Jewish form of oath, which down into the nineteenth century constituted a most degrading formula.

When real estate was mortgaged to a Jew and occupied by him, the duke protected him in exercising his occupancy. Crimes involving the person or property of a Jew were treated as acts of high treason, since he was under the direct protection of the duke. Desecration of Jewish cemeteries, throwing of stones at synagogues, and similar offenses were severely punished. The Jews enjoyed not only communal autonomy in general, but also the right to resort to their own courts-of-law in cases of dispute among themselves. Those who were elected heads of the community and its assessors acted as judges and justices of the peace. In cases of dispute between a Jew and a Christian, a Christian official selected by the duke was to act as judge. He bore the title *Judenrichter*. In particularly important cases the duke himself or his adjutant acted as judge.

The Jew received equal privileges under the general law like the other inhabitants of the country. Article 12 read as follows: "Wherever a Jew travels through our territory, no one may place any obstacle in his path nor molest him, nor give him any cause for complaint. If he transports goods of any nature, whatever (i. e. whether for private or communal use), or anything else which is subject to tax, he is obligated to pay, at every toll station, only as much as any other resident of the particular place wherein the Jew resides." Besides, article 24 freed

Jews from the burden of having soldiers quartered upon them. Such privilege used to be granted only to the nobility and to some foreign colonists such as the Flemings.

Thus the liberality of this decree in favor of the Jews of Vienna is a fitting adjunct to the highminded courtliness of this noble-spirited and brave ruler, whose reign was the pinnacle of German spiritual life, and who, like other members of his family, was known as a poet. Indeed, his very surroundings were cosmopolitan. The poet Enenkel sang of him:

*Bei ihm waren Ungarn und Preussen,
Welsche, Griechen und Reussen,
Bohmen, Polen, Schotten viel . . .*

(With him were Hungarians and Prussians,
Italians, Greeks and Russians,
Bohemians, Poles and many Scots . . .)

And the well-known Tannhäuser said:

*Mit ihm fahren Juden, Christen, Griechen, Welsche,
Heiden viel,
Ungarn, Polen, Russen, Bohmen, wer da schon leben
will*

(In his train were Jews, Christians, Greeks, Welsh-
men and pagans,
Hungarians, Poles, Russians, Bohemians, whoever
wished to live in grace and beauty).

It would seem, therefore, that Jews were also to be found in this polyglot group such as only Germany of that period held in picturesque combination.

Nor is it to be overlooked that the Jews were given a place at the head of the list called off by Tannhäuser.

The effect of this Privilege, the "Fredericianum," was to put the Jews of Vienna in a separate class, whereas up to that time they formed a part of the Jewish community of Lower Austria. The origin of the Privilege may well be said to rest upon the political calculations of the duke. But, in any event, it bears brilliant testimony to the far-sighted wisdom of its promulgator, just as, on the other hand, it designates the importance and redounds to the honor of its recipients, the Jews of Vienna of the thirteenth century. Austria and Vienna became an oasis in the desert of Jewish suffering during the Middle Ages, until the time in 1420 when, at one fell blow, Austria became for them a "Land of Blood."

OTTAKAR II (1251-1278)

This privilege was the model for Jewish legislation in Poland, Hungary, and other countries in Central and Eastern Europe, and also, in 1254 and 1255, for Ottakar of Bohemia, the successor of the Babenbergs in the rule of Austria. Indeed, the interpretation put upon it was even more liberal. The adjustment of the rate of interest was left to the contracting parties—an innovation that was introduced because of the fluctuations in the rate of exchange. By the provisions of the Privilege of this great King of Bohemia, the Jews were not to be disturbed on their holidays with a demand for

the redemption of pledges. The blood accusation was prohibited. In fact, this groundless charge, belief in which even induced certain Christian parents to offer their children to the Jews to be killed (as evidenced by the *Heimliches Buch* of the city of Strassburg of the year 1387), has not been heard in Vienna to this day. Ottakar also formulated certain regulations for their protection and relief, in cases of conflagration and the ensuing losses. In 1276, he decreed that everybody be free to engage in the production of foodstuffs and trade and be permitted to deal in the products of the soil for a period of five years.

Being free from prejudice, this high-minded ruler appointed Jews, such as the brothers Lublin and Nekelo, as Counts of the Treasury. He also appointed Jews as tax-collectors and masters of the mint. The burghers raised no complaints against this friendly attitude of the King. The members of the clergy, however, were incensed against the Jews all the more.

The hostile decrees of the Lateran Council of 1215 were adopted by the Council of Mayence in 1259. These chiefly imposed upon the Jews segregation in ghettos, the ignominy of wearing a Jewish badge, and exclusion from office, and refused them the right to sell to Christians, to build new synagogues, to employ Christian nurses and servants, to appear in public while the sacred symbols of Christianity were being carried, and to visit Christian houses, inns, and baths. But as everywhere else in Germany, the authorities of Vienna were lax in

enforcing these decrees. Even high dignitaries of the Church, such as those of Trèves and Bingen, were remiss in this duty during the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century. For this reason a Papal Legate appeared in Germany, to see that the various local church councils reënforced the hostile decrees. This Legate presided also over the provincial Synod of Vienna, at which were present the Bishops of Prague, Passau (to which diocese Vienna belonged at the time), and many other prelates who demanded the enforcement of the ecclesiastical restrictions against the Jews.

To this attempt on the part of the Church to interfere with his authority, Ottakar replied, in 1268, with a confirmation of those privileges which he had granted the Jews "in his youth."

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL CONDITIONS UNDER THE HAPSBURGS

RUDOLPH I (1278-1282)

THE noble princely Ottakar, like Frederick before him, tried to give the Jews such rights as would make it possible for them to live in accordance with the necessities of human life. After his tragic end, Austria became part of the German Empire under the rule of Rudolph of Hapsburg, who, it seems, could neither read nor write, but showed an aptitude for figures. He tried to make up for the little influence he had on the local nobility both by seeking the sympathy of the towns, and by increasing the financial power of the Jews. Rudolph, therefore, confirmed the "Fredericianum" to the Jews of Vienna in all its essential details. For the Jews of Vienna had become, like those of the rest of Germany, royal Slaves of the Treasury. If Rudolph excluded them from public office, it was due to his desire to placate the Viennese burghers, and the restriction did not really harm the Jews. Attempts to curtail their rights in other respects failed because of the Emperor's strong and deliberate policy.

ALBERT I AND RUDOLPH (1282-1308)

His successors, Albert I and the latter's son Rudolph, who acquired Austria as a feudal possession in 1298, were deficient in aggressiveness. And yet,

this was the very time when the Jews of Austria were in particular need of the protection of an energetic ruler. With the exception of the nobility, the population of Austria was filled with such hatred of the Jews that it took advantage of every weakness in the government to subject them to bloody attacks. Religious hatred was fanned by the clergy, while the financial power of the Jews aroused the discontent of a number of embittered debtors among the lower middle class. Moreover, the opposition to the government was now directed chiefly against some privileged Jews. For, though these dukes did not grant outright letters of protection as their predecessors had done, they had granted privileges to some.

The fact that the government had removed the Jews from the control of the city courts, incensed the burghers of Vienna. A Viennese jurist, presumably during the years 1276-1296, sought to prove, in his *Wiener Stadtrechtsbuch*, that "the accursed Jews enjoy better legal standing against Christians than the latter have against them."

Helbling, the poet and satirist, openly demanded the burning of the Jews. It is therefore not surprising that blow upon blow began to fall upon the hated race. In 1293, they were subjected to a ritual murder accusation in Krems, and, as a result, the duke had two poor Jews broken on the wheel, and imposed a heavy money fine upon the wealthy men of the community. The accusation that the Jews had desecrated the Host was raised on three occasions in Austria during the reign of Albert; in 1294 in

Laa, in 1298 in Korneuburg, the only place in Austria where a synagogue of the Middle Ages has been preserved, and in 1306 in St. Pölten. Yet Albert apparently did not interfere in the affair at Laa any more than Rudolph did to punish the murder of the Jew at Korneuburg, although here it was judicially established that the supposed desecration of the Host was a stupid falsehood on the part of a priest. However, in the case of the city of St. Pölten, Rudolph proceeded drastically, for at that time it was within Austrian territory. Similarly, Albert, as King of Germany, proceeded against the cities which had taken part in the murder of the Jews by the nobleman Rindfleisch in 1298. One may assume therefore that instances of interference to bring about justice were due to purely political motives; the rulers sought to obtain the influence of which they had so little up till then, rather than to protect the Jews. Nevertheless, one may account it to the credit of Albert that the Jews of Vienna remained unharmed during this wave of anti-Jewish feeling. Indeed, the aroused populace, under the influence of the clergy, ascribed Albert's sad end to the protection which he had extended to the Jews.

FREDERICK I (1308-1330)

Under Albert's successor, Frederick I, the Handsome, we hear for the first time of a definite tax on the Jews of Austria such as he, as King of Germany, collected from the royal Slaves of the Treasury there. For that is what the Viennese Jews had

once more become since the time of Rudolph I. It seems that this tax amounted to more than three thousand marks yearly. We likewise hear of a "Letter of Annulment" (*Tötbrief*), a document by which the duke, as supreme judge, extinguished debts, as a rule after a settlement and an examination of the creditor. No clearer indication is needed of the unlimited powers possessed by their Austrian overlords over the property of the Jews.

ALBERT II AND OTTO THE JOYFUL
(1330-1358)

This important power over the property of the Jews, the power to treat them as ducal Slaves of the Treasury—in brief, according to the juridical expression, "the right to keep Jews"—was formally acquired from the German Emperor, Louis the Bavarian, in 1331, by Albert II (1330-1358), whom Lion Feuchtwanger well described in his *Margarte Maultasch*, and Otto the Joyful (1330-1339), the brothers of Frederick the Handsome. Actually, the dukes of Austria had exercised this right since 1156, on the basis of a Privilege allegedly granted them by the Emperor Frederick I. When the first Hapsburgs took this right over as one of the prerogatives of the Roman Emperors, the status of the Jews underwent no essential change, for the Hapsburgs were at the same time the Dukes of Austria. But when Louis the Bavarian, and along with him the House of Wittelsbach, occupied the position of the Hapsburgs as Emperors of Rome, and sought to extend

their rights over the Jews also to the Jews of Austria, the Austrian rulers decided to prevent any one from superseding them in control of the Jews of their own country.

In the year 1338, Jews were once more robbed and murdered in Pulka, Austria, on the charge that they had desecrated the Host. Since this specter of persecution was everywhere in evidence, the Jews of Vienna felt grateful to the Vienna burghers that no harm befell them on this account. They expressed their gratitude by means of a declaration which constitutes the oldest document of the Jewish community of Vienna known to us today. It is dated June 19, 1338, and provides for a two-thirds reduction of the rate of interest, charging sixty-five per cent. The document is in Hebrew and bears the signature "The Kahal of Vienna" (*Kahal Vina*). On the right are the names Saadia Hayyim son of Senior, and Moses son of Gamaliel; on the left, Hayyim son of Eliezer. It reads: "Having noted the kindness of our City's respected citizens here in the City of Vienna, which they exercised in our behalf at the time of our distress, and which they will continue to exercise, as we hope, by the favor of God and their own favor, we, freely and without compulsion, nay with our whole heart and willing spirit and full knowledge, consent to make them this gift and to reduce the rate of interest to sixty-five percent."

Such an important step could naturally not have been taken without the consent of the dukes, for sixty-five percent was at that time a rather modest

rate. On the previous day, the dukes had issued a letter-patent in which they declared that "the Jews of their own free will, freely and willingly, have given a letter sealed with the seal of their master" (i. e. head of the community), and that they, the dukes, accepted this reduction as a general law, in recognition of the faithfulness of the Vienna burghers.

Albert II, who deserved his surname "the Wise," not only protected the Jews, but also urged them to avoid difficulties with their neighbors by taking the step they did. He even turned to Pope Benedict XII with the plea that the accusation about the Host in Pulka and in other places of the Diocese of Passau be investigated. The Pope entrusted the investigation to the Bishop of Passau, the very place in which the charge originated. Nothing more was heard about a condemnation of the Jews for their alleged desecration of the Host. But this very silence is evidence that the entire sad affair was a figment of the imagination created by disgraceful deception on the part of the priests and the lust for robbery and murder on the part of the people.

It was very fortunate for the Jews of Vienna, and not for them alone, that a just and able prince like Albert II extended his protecting hand over them at the time of the Black Death, which resulted in the extermination of entire Jewish communities. In the Upper Rhine, too, as the chronicle of Albert of Strassburg indicates, Albert's representative stood out against the general attacks upon the Jews. In 1349, the population of Krems and neighboring sections not far from Vienna fell upon the Jews.

The unfortunates set their own houses on fire and were consumed in the blaze. Very few saved themselves in the castle at Krems which was in the possession of Albert's trusted friend, Stephen of Meissau. Albert helped him quickly and energetically to put down the whole uprising, although he did not proceed any too stringently, on the whole, against the guilty. However, the Jews of Vienna remained unharmed except by the terrible plague which raged indiscriminately among Jews and Christians. It was at that time that the Jews were compelled to extend the borders of their cemetery:—sufficient proof, if any were needed, that they did not voluntarily start the plague.

Under this noble prince, who accepted the taunting designation, "Benefactor of the Jews" (*Fautor Judaeorum*), and upon whose tombstone it is truthfully stated, "the Hebrews had good cause to weep for him," the Jewish community of Vienna became the greatest in Germany. Like other Jewish communities of Austria, it had increased because of the fugitives from the German provinces as well as the exiles from Hungary. Referring to the catastrophe of 1348, the Jewish chronicler Joseph ha-Kohen, in his '*Emek ha-Baka* (Vale of Tears), wrote: "Only those who resided in Vienna and in the other cities of the Duke of Austria were spared the voice of the oppressor, since God had mercy upon them and put it into the mind of the Prince not to permit any harm to come to them. Many Jews fled there and remained here until the storm blew over, and the Lord saved them."

RUDOLPH IV (1339-1365)

A different spirit animated the Jewish policy of Rudolph IV, the Founder, whose chief claim to fame lies in the building of the Cathedral of St. Stephen. He exerted his efforts particularly towards the increase of the power of his House. He ascended the ducal throne at the age of nineteen, and at once began to fabricate "privileges" for Austria, pretending to assign more to her than to the rest of Germany. Charles IV's determined attitude towards the Jews was fixing the policy of the time. In the Golden Bull of 1356, he granted far-reaching advantages to the Electors. But Rudolph sought by cunning and force not only to obtain for his country equal power with the Electors but also, whenever possible, to exceed them. Knowing the value of money in politics, he wanted to assure himself not only of absolute control over the persons and possessions of the Jews, in whose debt even the city of Vienna stood in 1379, but also to introduce Christian money-lenders as their competitors by bringing the Christian Caorcini, i. e. men of Cahors, into the country. In one of his fabricated "privileges" he included the right to have them in his domain. While refusing him this right, Charles IV entered into an agreement with him, under which the Jews were deprived of freedom of movement and placed under the direct control of the Duke. This regulation was derived from the medieval law governing the rights of aliens, whereby no subject was permitted to enter foreign service without the consent

of his lord. But the Duke was to be permitted to go further and sell his Jews, or lend them, or annul debts due them at will, and then have the debtors, thus relieved, come to some arrangement with himself. It is characteristic of Charles' double-dealing policy that, at the same time (1360), he confirmed the Jews of Austria in their ancient liberties; naturally for a monetary bribe.

Rudolph and his successors confiscated the property left behind by Jews who migrated from the ducal lands without permission. Jews were "loaned," their claims upon their debtors reduced or "killed" in favor of the debtor and thus, at the same time, to the advantage of the Duke who, moreover, was himself frequently in their debt.

Incidentally, the only occasion when Jews appeared before city judges was when with other harassed lease-holders they were privileged, by a decree of Rudolph in 1360, to apply for purchase of their tenancies on easy terms. The Jews of Vienna, like those of Frankfort, were obligated to provide cooking utensils and bedding for the lord's retinue when he was on a journey. In this respect, they were treated like the burghers; but in the matter of civic rights they were regarded as foreigners, like the Flemings and the Bulgarians.

In 1361, Rudolph did away with the ecclesiastical court and all the lay courts in Vienna, except the Money Court. Thereby he placed all the inhabitants of the City under the jurisdiction of the City Judge. But he left to the Jews of his provinces their judicial autonomy under the jurisdiction of a Jewish Judge.

Documents of the time indicate that matters relating to inheritance and family were decided in accordance with Jewish law by a Jewish court, the Duke reserving to himself the right of final decision on appeal and then only with the advice of learned Jews. Moreover, contrary to canon law, ecclesiastical lords would enter into commercial relations with Jews. Furthermore, we hear of no persecutions of the Jews under Rudolph when the plague again raged in 1359 and they were accused of poisoning the wells just as they had previously been. This safety from attack more than counteracted the Duke's arbitrary exploitation of them. A sense of security led to the spiritual and economic development of the Jewish community of Vienna and to its increase by immigration.

ALBERT III AND LEOPOLD III
(1365-1395)

To the great and growing anti-Jewish feeling of the burghers fuel was added because an almost unbearable burden of taxation was imposed upon them from which the Jews were largely exempt. The luxury of the court and its useless wars resulting in unfavorable treaties of peace, placed the successors of Rudolph, Albert III (1365-1395) and Leopold III (1365-1386), under great financial embarrassment. This, in turn, led to extraordinary measures which endangered the very existence of the entire Jewish community of Vienna.

Following the example of John Lackland and Henry III of England, the dukes began to pursue a policy of confiscating Jewish property through "Letters of Annulment." Those who fled such tyranny lost whatever property they left behind and the Jews who remained had fines imposed upon them, since the entire Jewish community was responsible for the fugitives. Finally, the dukes fell so deeply in debt, that they mortgaged all their estates for four years, usually to members of the nobility, and could obtain no more credit. By secret prearrangement on a certain day in 1370, the Jews of the cities in the ducal lands were imprisoned to a man, and robbed of all their possessions, including bonds and promissory notes. Moreover, they were threatened with the stake unless they adopted Christianity, but only one girl and one man became converted; the man subsequently retracted and was burnt. Acts of violence of this nature were inflicted upon individual Jews in later years. But this general persecution had permanent effects. The Jews, as well as others, except the Masters of the Mint, were forbidden to exchange money, to purchase precious metals or coins, and to use private seals.

In order to permit the plundered Jews, the milch-cows of the ducal treasury, to accumulate wealth once more, they were aided by the dukes in the collection of the promissory notes, and were granted certain individual privileges. In 1377, an attempt was made to persuade the fugitives to return and to encourage other Jews to settle in Austria. A general Privilege was granted by which the Jews

were assured of ducal protection for their families and retainers, freedom of movement within all ducal lands and possessions, assistance in the collection of their debts, and protection against "Letters of Annulment" and similar measures for plundering their property. They were obligated to pay no dues other than the established yearly tax. In cases of complaints against them, the charges had to be supported by impartial Jewish and Christian witnesses. If a fire broke out in their houses, they were not to be held responsible. If they should want to move away, they would not be hindered, provided they had given notice of their intention. The Duke also promised to have them accompanied in their travels as far as one day's journey, and to take under his protection whatever property they left behind.

Some special privileges were granted to the Jews by Albert III. Among these was one to certain free Jews who intended to make a journey to Italy for the purpose of buying *etrogim*. But a particularly privileged position was enjoyed by the richest Jew of Vienna of that day, David Steuss, and his family, the members of which are enumerated in the document reciting his privileges. He was exempted from contributing to the loan of 10,000 pounds with which the Jews provided the Duke for two years. In 1382, the Duke took over, for a period of three and a half years, the payment to the Jews of interest on a debt due them from the City of Vienna. It was not unusual for him to extend aid to his debt-burdened cities by granting them easier terms, as a

rule at the expense of the Jews. On the whole, however, the situation of the Jews improved considerably after 1377.

ALBERT IV AND WILLIAM (1395-1406)

The situation remained about the same for two decades after the death of Albert III, under Albert IV (1395-1404) and William (1404-1406). In 1397, the Jews who fled to Vienna from a persecution in Styria and Carinthia gave Albert 16,000 pounds. He is supposed to have used this money to cover part of the expense incurred on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. During a year of drought, for which the Jews were blamed, the populace of Vienna entertained great bitterness towards them. They were said to enjoy better conditions in Vienna than anywhere else in the world; in fact, Vienna was regarded as the Jewish paradise. But, by issuing strict warnings, the Duke and the Vienna City Council intervened and protected the Jews against the greed of the populace.

In order to avoid giving the burghers occasion for conspiring against them, the Jews were forbidden to trade in certain Austrian cities. Similarly, since the establishment of a medical faculty in Vienna, only Christian physicians were permitted to practice medicine. Hence, in 1403, the practice of medicine was prohibited to a certain Jew, Gunzenhauser by name. Proceedings were also taken against Jewish women physicians who were professionally active in Vienna and in many other places.

LEOPOLD IV (1406-1411)

After the death of both dukes, the estates of Upper and Lower Austria ratified the Privileges of the Jews. Leopold IV, the guardian of the nine year old Albert V, was also favorably disposed toward them. Yet, only several months later, on November 5, 1406, the lack of a strong government worked to their disadvantage. It was on a Friday evening, while services were being conducted, that a fire broke out in the synagogue and quickly spread to the neighboring houses. Taking advantage of the situation, the populace entered the houses of the Jews and carried off everything transportable, destroying what they could not take. Through deliberate spreading of the fire, they continued their plundering for three days. Christians thus also suffered losses, since the Jews were not legally responsible for the return of pledges lost in this manner. One Jew was murdered while protecting his property.

The relations between Leopold IV and the City Council of Vienna were usually strained. When the latter, therefore, insisted upon the return of the pledges which the Jews had thus lost, the claim found no support from the Ducal Court. Thereupon, the burghers accused the Duke's men of being responsible for the disappearance of silver vessels and ornaments, and even alleged that they had enriched his treasure-store by plunder. As a matter of fact, the chroniclers of the day asserted that during this riot many a poor man became rich. The property stolen from the Jews was said to have run to the

value of a hundred thousand gulden. What was returned to them by the plunderers, at the command of Leopold, was of little value. Mention is made of the fact that, for a period of twenty-four hours, the students of Vienna also participated in the riot. Their number during the fourteenth century had risen to about seven thousand, and this was not the only time when they disgraced themselves by their excesses. Undoubtedly, it was owing to the conflict between Leopold and the City Council that such wrongdoings were countenanced; for during all the other catastrophes which befell Vienna at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Jews remained unharmed.

Soon, however, a religious motive presented itself offering an opportunity to the enemies of the Jews to arouse and fan the hatred against them. The Wars of the Hussites stirred up fanaticism, and brought into existence a system of spying and denunciation similar to that of the Inquisition. Even the University of Vienna was openly accused of Hussite sympathies and, as if to clear itself, the University authorities accused the Jews of having entered into an understanding with the Hussites, of whom there was at first a rather large number, in Vienna. It was said that the Jews had distributed arms to the enemies of the Church. The theological Faculty of Vienna, which considered the matter in 1419, could not find sufficient proof of such collusion. It, therefore, limited itself to accusing Jews of being too numerous, of enjoying luxury, and of possessing anti-Christian books. Finally, it revived

the old story about the desecration of the Host. As in the days of the Crusades, the cry was raised once more, "Why fight against the enemies of our faith who are far away, when we have enemies within our own land?"

ALBERT V (1411-1439) AND THE CATASTROPHE
OF 1421

The youthful Duke, himself inclined toward religious zeal and now embittered by the religious movement in Bohemia, had, nevertheless, but recently ordered the academic authorities to forbid the students to engage in anti-Jewish activities. On the other hand, he was greatly in need of Jewish money, which was looked upon as a very important reserve fund for the State. He needed a standing army to fight against the robber bands. His expenses had led to the mortgaging of the ducal silver, for the redemption of which he decreed a special tax upon the Jews. Again and again, he borrowed money from them, although he had no visible means of repaying it.

Into this powder magazine, there fell a spark. At Easter time, in 1420, the news came that the wife of a sexton in Enns in Upper Austria had some years before stolen consecrated hosts and sold them to a rich Jew in that locality, named Israel. According to the report, he had distributed the hosts to other Jews for the purpose of making sport of Christianity. The very fact that resort was had to a fictitious desecration which had taken place

several years before, as the official statements themselves allege, shows clearly that the real purpose was to find a religious excuse for depriving the wealthy Jews of their property. Here was a situation quite similar to that in France a hundred years previously, when an excuse was sought for proceeding against the Order of the Templars, then among the most important bankers. In the case of the Jews the accusation seemed all the more plausible because of the fact that the Hussites, too, were being suspected of desecrating the Host. To the Duke, anxious to outdo his fatherly friend, King Sigismund, in religious fervor, this pretense was most welcome. On the one hand, he wanted to play the rôle of protector of the Church by being able to parade as the destroyer of the Jews, just as he had boasted of being the conqueror of the Turks and the Hussites. On the other hand, he was yearning to come into possession of Jewish property. A Christian historian, Vancsa, in the voluminous *History of Vienna*, called this act "a financial coup" after the manner of the persecutions and confiscation of Jewish property instituted by the Emperor Wenceslaus. Ever since the fire of 1406, the business of the Jews had suffered a decline and they were largely in debt. Whatever property or ornaments they had left were now to come into the hands of the Duke. As in other persecutions, Jewish property was distributed to creditors and favorites even before a decision was reached against the owners.

To begin with, Israel and his wife, together with the wife of the sexton and other suspected Jews, were brought from Enns to Vienna. In the torture chamber the sexton's wife was forced to confess that not only she and the Jews of Enns, but that other Jews and Jewesses in Austria and other countries had participated in the crime by accepting portions of the Host.

Thereupon, on March 24, 1420, all the Jews of Austria were imprisoned. They knew well what fate was in store for them. For one thing, the judicial investigation was conducted not by the ducal High Court, as would have been the case had their Privileges been respected, but by the City Court of Vienna, bitter enemies of the Jews. This was but another proof of how deeply the Duke was indebted to the City of Vienna and to what extent he was compelled to yield to the will of its burghers.

In order to avoid the horrors of the torture-chamber and the terrors of the stake, some, like the women of Mödling and Perchtoldsdorf, committed suicide; others killed one another. The survivors were brought to Vienna. Here some of them, Viennese as well as Jews from the rest of Austria, were imprisoned or held captive in their houses. Another group was kept under guard in the synagogue. Even the poorest among them had the only shirt covering their bodies stripped away and were deprived of their last morsels of food. Then they were driven to the banks of the Danube and placed upon boats without oars. In the midst of

the heartrending weeping of the children, the boats were pushed away from the shore at the mercy of the downward-rushing stream.

The next step was to interrogate those who had been held in Vienna in order to discover where they had hidden their valuables. Since the property of a baptized Jew fell to the Duke, great efforts were made, by means of excruciating torture, to "persuade" the head of the Jewish community to become baptized. He was thus to set the example for the rest of the community. He, however, preferred to be tortured to death. Children were whipped before the eyes of their parents until their blood flowed. Adults were hanged by chains over a fire. But they chose death and not baptism. Young men were put into barrels and rolled about until they died.

Of those who were imprisoned in the synagogue, it was decided to take the children under fifteen years of age and baptize them. The prisoners thereupon made up their minds to do what the heroes of Massada had done, to kill themselves. One man chosen by lot was to slaughter the men; a woman chosen in similar manner was to slaughter the women. The lot for the men fell upon Jonah, said to be one of the three sons of David Steuss.

It was the Sabbath of Sukkot, 1420. The men placed themselves before the holy ark; the women stood in the women's gallery. As is customary before a coffin, they asked forgiveness for whatever injury they had done to one another. Then they uttered

the confession of sins before death (*Vidduy*). Jonah slew the men and finally also the woman who had completed the killing of her sister coreligionists. In order to keep their enemies from desecrating their bodies, he poured the oil of the "perpetual lamp" (*Ner Tamid*) upon the wooden reading desk, and after setting it on fire, committed suicide.

The ducal anger was aroused by such violent conduct. He had hundreds of Jewish children gathered from all over Austria, and after arousing their hunger by refusing them food for several days, placed ritually forbidden meat before them. When they refused to eat, he had some of them sold into slavery and others forcibly baptized.

On the 12th day of March, 1421, those who were still alive were brought to the judgment place on the "High Market" and told that they had been condemned to death. On that very day, ninety-two men and one hundred and twenty-two women were gathered on the *Gänsweide* or *Gries* in Erdberg and burned alive.

Previously, an attempt had been made to save at least the souls of those who had already lost their property. They, however, so a Jewish chronicler reports, spat at the Duke with disgust and went to their death as joyfully as though they were being led to the *Huppah* (marriage canopy). They encouraged one another by calling out, "Soon we shall see the light of Paradise." Out of the very fire, the confession of faith was heard, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is One."

Thus ended the Jewish community of Vienna of the Middle Ages, with its population of from fourteen hundred to sixteen hundred souls—one of the largest of its times. All the property of the Jews fell to the Duke. Some of their houses, especially those in the city, he sold and others he gave away as gifts. As we have seen, a plan for the division had already been made, and, in part, already executed, even before the burning of the Jews. The stones of the synagogue, which had really not been rebuilt after the fire of 1408, the Duke presented to the University for a new building. By this judicial murder, the City of Vienna derived an advantage through opening the Jewish quarter to the public, for until then it had been separated from the rest of the city by means of gates. Thus it is that Duke and City had joined in a criminal partnership even before the culmination of the *Wiener Gezerah* (Evil Decree of Vienna), by which name this event is known in Jewish sources. Among Jews, Austria was thereafter known as the *Erez ha-Damim* (The Land of Blood), and Vienna, like Jerusalem in Ezekiel, '*Ir ha-Damim* (The City of Blood).

To this day, a Latin inscription on the spot of the first Vienna ghetto recalls this auto-da-fè. It is upon a house called *Zum Grossen Jordan*, in the first District of Vienna, Schulhof No. 2, and records with malicious falsehood "the expiation for the terrible crimes committed by the Jewish dogs who paid the penalty upon the stake." The Jewish liturgi-

cal poet, referring to the martyrs who perished in the flames and those who were lost in oarless boats upon the Danube, tenderly sang:

“A people cast in water and flame,
Thus purged of all iniquity,
Must be dear to Thee again.”

In the Jewish liturgy are many lamentations which were composed in memory of this catastrophe. There is also a valuable *Mahzor* which in some fashion was carried into the Rhineland as a result of the *Gezerah* of Vienna, and from there, after further travels, reached Parma, where it is now to be seen.

The Duke was altogether disappointed with the financial results of the tragic affair carried through so high-handedly. Indeed, it does not measure up to his otherwise well-attested political acumen which brought him, as the successor of Sigismund, the Imperial crown of Germany in 1437 and the crown of Bohemia and Hungary in 1438.

CHAPTER III

LAW AND ECONOMICS

THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE VIENNESE JEWS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

THE catastrophic end of the Jewish community of Vienna can scarcely be understood without considering the development in the community's legal status. In the Roman Empire, the Jews were citizens of the State (*Cives Romani*) equal with Romans before the law. But when Christianity became the state religion under Constantine I in 312, the Jews were considered aliens in religion. Canon Law granted them restricted toleration. They were protected from physical violence, interference with their personal freedom and damage to their property, though they really obtained very few rights. On the other hand, under the law of the Germanic tribes and of others, they were deemed tribal strangers and therefore entitled to no rights at all. Their persons and their property were the possessions of the lords of the land. Only special letters of protection, such as those granted in Austria to non-Jewish merchants from Regensburg, Flanders and other countries, freed individual Jews from the disabilities of their foreign status. In the eleventh century Jews settled in certain cities, and after forming a community, they received special Privileges. Such Privileges were granted by kings, or those empowered by them to make

grants of this nature, the kings reserving to themselves the privilege of "keeping Jews." By the grace of some German kings, various liberties were accorded to all the Jews of Regensburg, Speyer, and Worms, according to the terms of individual Letters of Protection of an older date. Thus the Jews of Worms enjoyed special standing before the law. They received protection for their property, had the right to engage in banking beyond the borders of the state mint, could trade in merchandise, and were exempt from tolls and other taxes and freed from the burden of quartering troops and supplying provisions for the king. If a Jew unknowingly purchased stolen goods, he was under no obligation to return them to their owner till he had received the amount he had paid for them, and his oath was accepted as to the accuracy of the sum he advanced. No one was permitted to baptize Jewish children against the will of their parents. If a Jew submitted to baptism, he forfeited his property and rights of inheritance. It was contrary to law to deprive a Jew of his heathen slaves on the pretext of baptizing them. Jews were permitted to keep Christian servants and nurses. In lawsuits with Christians, they were allowed to present evidence in accordance with the laws of their own religion, and have coreligionists as well as Christians testify in their behalf. The Jew took an oath in accordance with his own law and was absolved from trial by ordeal, whether by water or fire, and was not subject to scourging or imprisonment. Whoever killed a Jew or abetted the murder of a Jew, had to pay a fine or

suffer physical punishment. Lawsuits among Jews were decided by Jewish courts, though in particular cases an appeal was permitted to the local lord. In 1236, Emperor Frederick II extended this Privilege of Worms to all the Jews, and thus established it as the earliest system of laws governing Jews in Germany.

Nevertheless, this law was a double-edged sword. Ever since the Crusades, the social position of the Jews grew worse. The Church continued to issue anti-Jewish laws. Moreover, the limiting of Jews to trading in money aroused the hatred of the growing burgher merchant class against them. As a result, they were deprived of the right to own real estate and degraded from the status of the king's protégés to that of Slaves of the Treasury. This had the effect of reducing their status again to that of foreigners, i. e. they became property of the king without any right whatsoever. To justify this regal slavery, a legal fiction was resorted to. Not only had they murdered the Lord but they had been brought to Europe as slaves by Titus, and therefore remained the slaves of the German emperors, his presumable successors. As a matter of fact, the Roman emperors had treated the Jews as full citizens. In the middle ages, however, they were subjects of a royal prerogative and as such were leased, sold, loaned, and given away by emperors and innumerable local barons. Their freedom of movement was expressly abolished by Rudolph of Hapsburg in 1286, and the king, as absolute master of their persons and their property, took advantage

of every excuse to tax them. They were defenseless and without rights.

Jewish legislation in Austria began with the already mentioned Privilege of Emperor Frederick II, granted the Jews of Vienna in 1238. The treatment accorded them there during the next two centuries was in accordance with the legal status described above, under which they had been turned over to the absolute and arbitrary will of the individual ruler, as foreigners in race and religion.

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE JEWS

These changes in the political and socio-legal position of the Jews of Vienna corresponded to the economic transformations which took place in Austria during the course of these two centuries. This development, in turn, corresponded to that of western and central Germany one hundred years earlier.

In the eleventh century the Jews were known as merchants. They had been placed on an equal legal basis with the rest of the burghers, especially in the episcopal cities, in Austria. They then appeared only in Judenburg, Styria, a city which stood in important commercial relations with Italy. They are first mentioned there in a document dating from 1080. The name of this town indicates its Jewish origin, as do the names of other towns of a later date, like Judendorf near Murau in 1120, Judendorf near Graz in 1147, also in Styria, and Judenau near Tulln in 1155, where, to this day, one finds Jewish family names and Jewish types

among the population. As in various parts of Germany, the Jews who lived by commerce and agriculture built up colonies and established commercial relations with the neighboring cities. Other cities not mentioned until much later, such as Judenfurt, first mentioned in 1275, Judendorf near Wolfers in 1371, Judenhof, Judenweis, and Judenleithen, must have originated at this time while the Jews were still welcomed by the local nobility as merchants useful in developing local commerce. In the first half of the thirteenth century, Jewish communities multiplied to the east of the Weser and upon the Danube. In the west, the merchant class of the cities found trade prosperous as a result of the Crusades. At first, persecution of the Jews was an outgrowth of religious passions. Later, the magistrates resenting the competition of the Jews showed themselves antagonistic to them. The cities of Austria, however, had not yet gone through this stage of development. At the time that the Babenberg princes obtained the usual prerogatives over the Jews just as other German princes had done, numerous Jewish communities were established in Upper and Lower Austria.

During the second half of the thirteenth century, when the magistrates of the cities attained to a position of power, the Jews of western and middle Germany were driven out of all middle class occupations and forced into money-lending which was absolutely forbidden to the Christians. It was then that one pogrom followed upon another; in Frankfort in 1241, Coblenz and other communities on the

Rhine in 1264–1270, Mayence, Bachrach, Oberwesel in 1294, and Franconia and Bavaria in 1298. Public sentiment was deliberately fomented against the Jews.

The Jews had loaned money at interest also before 1250. But at that time money-lending was not their sole occupation, and the debtors were of the upper classes who were prominent socially and economically active. The business was productive to both Jew and Gentile and therefore led to no friction. After 1250, the Jews dealt with the lower classes only. This consumers' credit, necessarily resulting often in the destruction of their independent standing, brought upon the Jews their hatred. In addition, the Jews were a bone of contention in the quarrels between emperors and princes about their respective prerogatives, and were the centers of dispute between the lords of the city and its patricians, or between the patricians and the artisans. For the guilds of the latter were anxious to suppress any productive efforts on the part of the Jews. But within Austria, during the first half of the thirteenth century, Jews were engaged in certain branches of commerce, the Jews of Leibach with Venice, Hungary and Croatia, and the Jews of Vienna with Hungary, Bulgaria and Constantinople. Only in 1367, did the Vienna Guild of goldsmiths, for example, take a stand against the Jews. About that time the burghers began to riot against investing the Jews with the power of office. The Church had long expressed itself with zeal against the appointing of Jews to office, although at the beginning of the fourteenth

century even high dignitaries of the Church, such as those of Trèves and Bingen, did not yet discriminate against them. The fact that in the latter part of that century objection was raised to Jews trading in cloth, wine, and drugs shows that they were then occasionally still active in commerce. In 1372, they were freed from paying taxes on new wine and brew, while two years later they again had to pay taxes on new wine. They were still frequently brokers or middlemen in commercial transactions without official position.

In the fourteenth century they owned real estate in their own right, as, for example, in 1355 in Salmannsdorf, at the time a suburb of Vienna. Under the protection of generally friendly and favorably inclined rulers, they enjoyed such prosperity as to encourage fellow Jews to take up their abode among them. In 1348, the Vienna community was the greatest in Germany. Their occupation of money-lending, which was so odious in the eyes of the community, made the Jews indispensable to the dukes.

One must bear in mind that the Church, in seeking to carry out to the letter the biblical injunction against usury, forbade its adherents to exact any interest whatever. But the economic progress of the day, the military preparations for the Crusades, and the luxurious living of the princes made money-lending indispensable, and it was permitted only to Jews. The occupation developed among them, at first near monasteries and feudal castles, and later in Austria, where they were forced into it under legal compulsion. Sometimes they engaged

in the business on a grand scale, with nobles and churchmen, sometimes on a small scale with burghers and peasants. Under any circumstances, they thus substantially contributed to the improvement of economic conditions. Jewish women as well as men, young as well as old, with money of their own or with that of others, individually or in groups, engaged in this occupation fraught with such terrible consequences. To meet the requirements of the ordinances of the Church (whose highest representatives were themselves involved in financial transactions with Christian and Jewish money-lenders), agreements had a provision that interest was to be paid only in case of a failure to repay the original loan at the time stated in the bond. To protect themselves from losses, it seems that both Jews and Christians at once deducted, at a rate agreed upon in secret, both the simple and compound interest which would accumulate when the payment of the principal was due. More honest and more advantageous to the borrower was the so-called *Judenschaden*, that is Jewish interest, which began to run from the day on which the debt was contracted.

After the borrower and the lender had agreed upon the transaction, the agreement was drawn up by a notary. The document was then entered by a city official in a register. In view of the fact that the term of repayment was usually a long one, it was necessary to have the basic value as stable as possible. The use of currency was, therefore, usually avoided, and payment was made in silver marks, according to weight, a mark weighing 280 grams

[The page contains several columns of handwritten text in a cursive script, likely from a historical manuscript. The ink is dark and the paper shows signs of age and wear.]

and amounting on an average to about five dollars. The mark came to two pounds, counting 240 pfennig to the pound. The usual weekly rate of interest was three pfennig. Sometimes commodities instead of money were used, especially cheese, which was very much in favor at the time. The Arabic *mankus*, according to the Spanish records of the time, was often used as a standard of value.

Whenever real estate came into the possession of Jewish creditors, they tried to dispose of it as soon as possible. They did so even in localities where it was not legally necessary for them to dispose of it. For, conscious of their insecurity and of the advisability of having their assets portable, they made every effort to convert them into cash. Moreover, as owners of real estate in a city, they were placed under the rule of the city authorities—a situation which they desired to avoid.

The risk which the creditors took in lending money is the chief explanation for the high rates of interest of the Middle Ages. On the Rhine, the rate was usually from thirty-three to forty-three percent; in Austria, sixty-five to eighty percent. This risk was enhanced by the defects of legal process. Another reason for high interest lay in the fact that a large portion of the money in possession of the Jews found its way, through all sorts of taxes, into the treasury of the Duke. It was little wonder that he tolerated the taking of high interest; it was to his own advantage.

In entering upon an inheritance, a Christian heir would make announcement in the chief synagogues

of the country, in Vienna, Wiener-Neustadt, or Krems, calling upon any Jew who had a claim against the estate to present it within the year or lose his right. If no creditor made his appearance, the sexton of the synagogue and another functionary of the Jewish community gave the Christian heir a "Letter of Annulment" (*Tötbrief*), that is a guarantee that he owed nothing to any Jew. This was the only document issued by a Jewish authority which had general validity.

DAVID STEUSS

THE names of a number of Jews appear in documents earlier than the middle of the fourteenth century, relating to their business with Christians. The most prominent of these was David Steuss, a State Banker.

The name Steuss has been used ever since as a nickname, so that the Christians of Vienna to this day call a Jew "Steissel."* In his own day he was referred to in many records as "the rich Steuss," just as in other places wealthy Jews were designated by the adjective "rich," e. g. the "rich" Michel or Moshe or "the rich" Rappin. Steuss came from a wealthy family in Klosterneuburg near Vienna and in the records was occasionally referred to as "the Jew from Neuburg." Apparently because of persecution the family moved from there to Vienna in the

*It is used in the same way as is "Hansarsch" in Goethe's *Faust* (Erich Schmidt's notes, 2189) or "Steitz" (Struwelpeter-Hoffman, p. 216).

year 1241. David's grandmother Plueme engaged in money-lending, numbering among her clients the Dukes Albert and Otto, and the noble family Walsee which came from its Swabian home in the retinue of Albert I and the members of which are often met with as debtors to the Jews. Her loans aggregated over three hundred pounds. David's father, Handlein, is mentioned in Vienna records of the years 1352 to 1384.

About 1352, David, as head of a company or in his own capacity—it is not clear which—entered into financial relations with the Dukes Albert and Leopold and the King of Hungary. He was also a creditor of the Bishops of Gurk, Brixen and Regensburg. He financed the visit of Albert to his brother Leopold in Swabia, the journey of both in 1376, and their unfortunate expedition against Venice. He loaned money to the treasurer of the Dukes Albert and Rudolph, to the steward of Duke Leopold, and to a large number of other noblemen, the amount sometimes reaching 5,500 pounds. He owned twelve houses in the Ghetto and numerous other dwellings outside of it. He was the owner of many mansions, farms and vineyards, castles and knightly estates. Whenever they fell into his hands for non-payment, he had the right to sell them with all the privileges belonging to them of self-jurisdiction. He was answerable only to the Duke. It was this last privilege which saved him from the general imprisonment of Jews which occurred in the seventies of the fourteenth century.

Nevertheless, he was not able to escape imprisonment almost a decade later. In 1364, the Duke imposed upon the City of Vienna the task of wiping out his debt to Steuss by paying the latter two thousand pounds from the City's treasury. The effort to make this payment may be the reason that the City fell into the debt of a number of other Jews. In 1375, the City was forced to collect an extraordinary tax imposed upon wine and merchandise. This, however, proving insufficient to pay Steuss, Albert, in 1382, took over the payment of the interest on this debt, but, in turn, passed the burden on to monasteries and the lay orders, to the local barons, the knights and squires, foreign citizens, and even to princely officials and their servants. When even this did not discharge the obligation to Steuss, the Duke imprisoned him in the fortress at Mödling, and forced him to pay the enormous sum of fifty thousand pounds. Thereupon the fortune of the house began to sink; David died at the end of 1387 or the beginning of 1388.*

*See Appendix A, p. 481.

CHAPTER IV

THE INNER LIFE OF THE COMMUNITY

Just as the communities of Worms, Mayence and Speyer were the centers of Jewish learning before the Crusades, so Krems, Vienna and Wiener-Neustadt were afterwards. A Jewish historian once remarked: "It will hardly ever be possible to decide with certainty what the conditions were by virtue of which the center of gravity of Jewish learning moved from the Rhineland to Austria." It would seem, however, that the economic and political situation of the Jews was responsible for the change.

The fact is that Austria offered the Jews the opportunity of earning a livelihood denied them in other places. In the rest of Germany they were subjected to the arbitrary rule not only of the Emperor but also of lesser ecclesiastical and political powers, and worst of all, of the city-councils. In Austria the dukes jealously guarded their authority over the Jews in their territory; and all the more since 1348, when Vienna, like other cities in Austria, offered an asylum to the refugees from Germany, with the result that its Jews soon outnumbered those in all other communities. In 1377, the Duke of Austria went so far as actually to invite foreign Jews to settle in his land.

ISAAC OR ZARU'A

Eminent among the spiritual leaders was Rabbi Isaac "of Vienna," or Isaac Or Zaru'a, thus named because of his famous work, which he called, in the words of Ps. 97.11, *Or Zaru'a* (Light is Shed). The final letters of the words of that verse constitute the letters of the name of Rabbi Akiba, Rabbi Isaac's favorite hero. Moreover, in the translation of *Or Zaru'a* into German, *Licht gesät*, some have seen a play on the name of the town Lichtensee near Meissen, and concluded that it was Isaac's birthplace. He may have spent his youth there and attended the synagogue, which was decorated with pictures of animals, probably the signs of the Zodiac. His life was spent in straitened circumstances; it was largely that of a wanderer and ended in Vienna in 1250, when he was seventy. One of his pupils, the greatest rabbinical authority of his time, Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg, called him "the Saint." He carried on his studies with the learned men of Bohemia and France. He regarded himself a citizen of Bohemia, for the Margravate of Meissen then belonged to that territory. Unless he had been a mystic previously, he was probably won over to mysticism by Judah the Pious in Regensburg and by Eleazar in Worms. In Würzburg he was the pupil of Eliezer ha-Levi, who raised him to the dignity of a *Dayyan* and whose work had served as a model for Isaac's own *Or Zaru'a*. He introduced the critical dialectical methods of the Tosafists from France and helped to fuse these with the

method of systematization in vogue in Germany. He finally settled in Vienna.

The chief influence in his life was that of his German teachers. He wrote: "From our teachers in Mayence, Worms, and Speyer the Torah has gone forth to all Israel, and when communities were established on the Rhine, in the rest of Germany and in our own Slavic Kingdoms, our pious, holy and wise fathers followed what the earlier ones had prescribed." Rabbi Isaac did not regard his contemporaries as learned enough to assume any authority to decide matters for themselves. In his own decisions he always consulted his teachers. For him the traditional usage in religion was authoritative.

He was profound and exhaustive in giving the theoretical arguments from talmudic sources and in presenting the views and the refutation of them by the rabbinic authorities. He was so anxious to present those doctrines which became fundamental for Jewish practice that his work became too bulky to circulate in more than a very few copies. His son Hayyim subsequently condensed the work, and it is this abbreviated version that later served as a source for legal compendia. The *Or Zarua* affords a glimpse into the development of the author. He offers explanations of Slavic words and makes references to the customs of the Bohemian Jews. He tells of Jewish merchants making their way from Constantinople and Bulgaria to Prague. He gives citations from his German teachers and excerpts from *tosafot* of Parisian origin. Responsa

are also to be found in the book, as well as correspondence exchanged with contemporaries. From contemporary references it appears that the book was written probably between 1217 and 1246.

He often narrates personal experiences. He tells us that he was an eye-witness of the pogrom in Frankfort on the Main in 1241. Nevertheless, he rebukes these Christian enemies mildly: "Like children, they know not what they do." He tells us much about Jewish customs and manners, especially in Vienna. He informs us, for example, that *'aliyyot* (calling up to the Torah) used to be sold, but he deprecates the custom. He describes weddings in France, where the bridegroom wore a garland of roses and myrtle, and was met by the wedding party and entertained with a sort of tournament. At a circumcision, he writes, the whole community was given pretzels to eat. He says that the Jews in Bohemia carried arms, and that the Jews of Spain, about whom he might very well have received information from the circle of Teka, went to war along with the regular army.

The information he gives and the laws he cites are miscellaneous in character. Women were permitted to institute lawsuits before the court as men were, since they also carried on business; otherwise their very livelihood would have been jeopardized. If a Jew lent money to a particular Gentile, no other Jew was allowed to compete with him, for it was considered unethical to interfere with a fellow religionist's means of livelihood. According to Isaac, who quotes Judah the Pious, a cantor

had to be on friendly terms with every member of the community, since otherwise he could not properly represent in his prayers before God those whose enmity he incurred. Moreover, a man to whom the cantor was ill-disposed might become a victim of the curses in Leviticus 26 and Deuteronomy 28, publicly recited by the cantor. The cantor was elected unanimously, received his salary out of the communal treasury and was not obliged to give donations. He was entitled to receive gifts at weddings, on Simhat Torah and on Purim. These were offered at the time of the reading of the Torah, and consisted of particular cuts of beef. Nevertheless, on Simhat Torah he was not allowed to repeat the reading for the sake of a few extra gifts.

Although work was forbidden on holidays, to knock on the doors with a hammer was allowed for the purpose of calling people to the synagogue (*Schulklopfen*). The poor fund (*Zedakah*) was in charge of two representatives of the community. Charitable bequests could not be used for the benefit of the testator's relatives. Jews from the country towns who came to the city for the High Holidays, New Year and the Day of Atonement, were allowed to distribute to their own poor at home the money usually spent in connection with memorials for the dead. The Rabbi, the religious head of the community, received an honorarium, but no support from the poor fund. Itinerant authors, selling their works, were already common at that time. Marriages in Bohemia took place on Friday evenings, and the guests at the table sang

from song-books. Frequent disputes and lawsuits resulted from quarrels about the fee of the marriage intermediary (*Shadkanut*).

Whoever went hunting with dogs, like Gentiles, would not receive a portion of the Behemoth and the Leviathan, which constitute the feast of the pious in the world to come. There was no religious objection, however, to tying a falcon and a hunting dog to one's stirrup. The Jews in France were permitted to wear the compulsory Jewish badge in the form of a wheel (probably in reference to Psalm 83.14) even on the Sabbath. The pointed hat in the form of a horn placed on top of a woolen cap and attached with straps underneath, forced upon the Jews in Lorraine and Germany, might also be worn on the Sabbath.

Some of the food eaten at that time is still familiar to Jews of today. The well-known Passover dish of Germany, *Chrimsel* (vermicelles), was eaten on Friday evenings after *Kiddush*. The Sabbath *Shalet* (*Chalant*) consisted of fried apple and egg. In Bohemia the Sabbath dishes were placed in the oven, which was then sealed; in the Rhineland and in France the Sabbath food was kept warm on coals. On Simhat Torah in Saxony, as in other places to this day, the *Hatanim* gave a feast to the community, usually consisting of fowl. At a *Siyyum* (the completion of the study of a portion of the Talmud) or at a wedding, the serving of an entire chicken to a guest was considered a mark of distinction. On this day in certain communities, it was usual

to eat in the house of study, occasionally also in the synagogue.

Instead of the Targum, that is the Aramaic translation of the Torah, it was permissible to use a translation in the vernacular. Such translations were, in fact, prepared for classroom use among the Jews. On Passover it was forbidden to play the favorite Christian game of rolling eggs on a sloping surface.

On Fridays it was customary in Bohemia, "our land" as Rabbi Isaac calls it, for the sextons and the children of the household to announce immediately after the *Kedushah* of the afternoon service (*Minhah*) that the Sabbath candles should be lit. *En Kelohenu* was sung by the entire congregation, a custom which persists in a great many communities to this day. This song through a translation has been adopted by the churches. After *Habdalah* it was customary to sing songs which were ascribed to the prophet Elijah. We learn that the women of Bohemia wore earrings. We are told that once a Jewish boy was brought by Christians from Primiti, probably in Albania, and offered for sale in Prague. In Germany it was not considered wrong to drink wine with proselyte slaves immediately after their conversion, although the slaves had been purchased from Gentiles.

The account of an interesting lawsuit sheds light on the high ethical tone of Jewish law. In Boppard, Rabbi Eliezer of Tours, the well-known Tosafist, did not receive his salary as a private teacher for a long time. He sued for damages on the ground that

he might have loaned the money out at interest. In the legalistic controversy which ensued, Eliezer's own brother, Abraham, decided against him on the ground "that this would have been usury," an indication of what rabbinic circles of the time thought about lending money at interest.

After his return from France, which took place before 1235, Rabbi Isaac studied in Würzburg under Rabbi Eliezer ben Joel ha-Levi. He acted as assistant judge under another teacher, Rabbi Jonathan ben Isaac. While at Würzburg, he had as a pupil Rabbi Meir, later famous as Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg. He praised the community of Regensburg, in which he lived for about thirty years before the completion of his work, as the seat of great scholars and "the model community in Israel." It stood in constant relations with the communities of Bohemia. Of the scholars of Speyer, one named Shemaryah was Isaac's teacher and is frequently mentioned and quoted by him. Rabbi Isaac says that Kalonymos permitted the community to enjoy the Privilege granted to him by Frederick Barbarossa.

In France, with whose scholars Rabbi Isaac remained in touch even after he left the country, the officials gave assistance also to poor persons who came from other communities. It seems that people often took meals in the bathhouse, a custom frequently found elsewhere as well. Rabbi Isaac cites the Sages of Orleans, among them the well-known Tosafist Joseph Bekor Shor, and also the scholars of Bourgogne, Bourgueil, Brienne, and Coucy, where his teacher Rabbi Simon lived.

Incidentally, Rabbi Simon is the authority for the statement that the famous Rabbi Gershom mourned fourteen days for his son who had become a convert to Christianity. Rabbi Isaac also mentions the towns of Corbeil, Dampierre, and Dreux. Of Rabbi Solomon of Dreux, the Saintly, he tells us that he recited the Passover Haggadah in French down to the words *kullanu mesubbin*. He mentions several towns. In one of them, Narbonne, he says, the Jews, contrary to custom elsewhere, ate cheese prepared by Gentiles.

He informs us that Austria imported salted fish from Hungary, and that in Vienna the meat was cut in the presence of the customers on the streets, as is still done in the Orient. Rabbi Isaac traveled also through Hungary (the land of Hagar) where the Jewish communities had no regular officials. He speaks of the hot-springs of Buda and Gran, and of occurrences in Nyitra, and of the village of Irek close to it.

Isaac might very well have been informed about conditions in Poland, since Jews traveled there from Meissen and Bohemia. He tells us that in Poland there were no men learned in the Torah, because of the deplorable conditions of the Jews there. He mentions, however, a Jewish book found in Russia. It is evident that the human relationships of this much traveled and highly respected sage were widely extended.

Isaac Or Zaru'a had two sons, Baruk and Hayyim, and one daughter who married Samuel ben Sabbatai.

The sons also bore the name Or Zaru'a and were of some prominence.

Hayyim Or Zaru'a studied in Wiener-Neustadt and France, but especially with Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg, with whom he remained in close touch down to Meir's death. He also corresponded with his fellow-students under Meir. Thus he participated in the discussion which took place between 1286 and 1291 in Mayence as to the method of obtaining funds to redeem Rabbi Meir from captivity. From him we learn about the cruelties perpetrated upon the Jews by robber barons, in one case upon a transport carrying *etrogim*. A prince or robber baron would kidnap a Jew and, if he could not obtain the ransom money for him at the appointed time, would murder him and throw his body to the dogs. One is reminded of the shrewd negotiations which the calculating Rudolph of Hapsburg carried on about the body of Rabbi Meir.

MEIR BEN BARUK HALEVI

No less important for his time, a century later than Rabbi Isaac, was the noted Rabbi Meir ben Baruk Halevi. Recognized as an authority even in distant Asia, he was called by a rabbi in Jerusalem "the Enlightener of the Eyes of the Exile." He came from the Rhineland, and was born probably in Fulda. Yet, since he was surnamed "from Erfurt," we may assume that he there obtained the rights of citizenship which Jews then still enjoyed in that town and elsewhere. Between 1383 and 1385 he

lived in Nuremberg and at one time loaned large sums of money to the Bishop of Würzburg and his monastery. In 1392, he was imprisoned in Frankfort, most likely because of an attempt to leave the city without the consent of the Council. He was set free by order of Emperor Wenceslaus. He removed to Vienna at the time when there was a great influx of Jews into Hungary and Austria attempting to escape persecution in Germany. He was engaged in money-lending either by himself, or in association with others. He had at various times in his life lived in Frankfort, Nordhausen, Nuremberg, and finally Vienna (1349-1366).^{*} He was married at least twice, possibly three times. His third wife was Hansüsse, daughter of the richest Vienna Jew, David Steuss. He died in 1407.

The designation of Meir's father as a martyr points to his having perished during the Jewish persecution of 1348-49. Meir himself had several sons and one daughter who married in Vienna. His world-wide reputation is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that no writings of his are known with the exception of a few scattered legal decisions referred to in a contemporary rabbinical controversy.

The details of this controversy are not without interest. After the death, in 1385, of Rabbi Mattathias who had been appointed Chief Rabbi of France by King Charles the Fifth, Johanan succeeded him in office. Five years later, Isaiah Astruc,

^{*}See my article in *Jüdisches Jahrbuch für Oesterreich*, 1933, to the effect that he had been in Vienna between 1349 and 1366.

the Rabbi of Savoy, who had been a pupil of Rabbi Mattathias as well as of Rabbi Meir Halevi (then living in Frankfort), issued an order that thereafter no rabbi should perform marriages, grant divorces or exercise any other rabbinical function, not even public preaching, without his permission. He rested his own claim upon the authority of Rabbi Meir Halevi who, he alleged, had granted him the right to exercise these rabbinical functions. For support against this attack upon his authority, Rabbi Johanan turned to the rabbis of Catalonia, especially to Rabbi Isaac ben Sheshet, who decided in his favor.

At first glance, this seems to be merely a matter of rivalry between the son of the deceased chief rabbi and a former pupil, a dispute about the succession such as has not been without parallel to this day. But in seeking to undermine the authority of Rabbi Johanan, Rabbi Isaiah naturally could not lean for support upon Rabbi Johanan's father, even though he had been his own teacher. He therefore invoked the name of his other teacher, Rabbi Meir.

There is good reason to believe, however, that this dispute was a case of more than personal rivalry, though that may have played a part in it. A deeper motive, based on general welfare, lay behind it all. The real objection seems to have been to the granting of rabbinical authority by a secular power, which would thus have controlled rabbinical functions. According to a decree of Rabbenu Tam, Rabbi Samuel ben Meir, Eliezer ben Nathan, and a hundred and fifty other rabbis of northern France, no Jew

was permitted to exercise a religious office under the authority of appointment by a Gentile, who would make use of his "Crown Rabbi" as trustee for the extraction of taxes from the Jews. Only the Jewish community was to exercise the right of appointing its official. This regulation had obviously been flouted when the King of France appointed a Chief Rabbi. The appointment had evoked no open opposition during the life time of Rabbi Mattathias, who was shielded by the King. But the rabbis did raise objection to the succession of Rabbi Johanan, who was not in the good graces of the anti-Jewish Charles VI. It was the time of the impoverishment of Parisian Jewry as a result of the pogrom of 1380. Soon thereafter, in 1394, the Jews were completely driven out of France.*

In fact, Rabbi Meir Halevi himself had refused to accept the position of Crown Rabbi conferred upon him by the Emperor Wenceslaus, the unscrupulous despoiler of the Jews. That was the reason that he had tried to escape from the city and was imprisoned by the City Council of Frankfort at the command of the King in 1392. His freedom must have followed upon the payment of a large fine to Wenceslaus. Thereupon Meir again turned to Vienna because only there could he feel safe from the hands of the Emperor. Moreover, Austria was not subject to the authority of a German chief-rabbi.

Rabbi Meir Halevi is considered by many to have been the originator of the system of ordination

*See Appendix B, p. 481

(*Semikah*) as a means of conferring rabbinic authority, and author of the title *Morenu* as the outward mark of that authority. The fact of the matter, however, is that this talmudic title was already in existence in the thirteenth century, and was probably adopted by Or Zaru'a from the Latin *magister* used in Christian circles.*

Being in fairly good circumstances Rabbi Meir Halevi apparently did not receive any compensation for his rabbinical activities. Besides, he earned a livelihood as a money-lender in Nuremberg, Frankfurt, and Vienna. Although Isaac b. Sheshet referred to him as a very learned man, calling him "the mighty eagle," and although scholars in later generations praised him, he had no other title in Vienna than Master. In view of his importance, the sources apparently do not do ample justice to him.

His modesty is apparent from his perfect willingness to share his rabbinical functions with others. To the suggestion that he ought to make his superior authority felt, he answered: "Who presented me

*To be sure, in the days of Rabbi Meir the situation was analogous to that described by Ranke (*Die Romischen Päpste*, I, 39) as having existed in the Church. In order to avoid the degradation of the honorable office by those unqualified for it and by such as attained it through unworthy means, the Jews of Germany, France, and Italy began to require an authorization by a recognized rabbi for the exercise of the rabbinic office. But there is no proof that the institution of this method goes back to Rabbi Meir Halevi.

with this field (of the Law) or who left it to me as an inheritance that I should prevent other people from settling upon it?" Like Isaac Or Zaru'a, he also considered it imperative, though himself a recognized authority, to consult "the sages of the time," that is the older authorities, before answering a difficult question in the matter of ritual. For he held that the tradition and usage of the great men of the past had been entrusted to these sages. He laid a great deal of emphasis upon the sacredness of one's word; he jealously guarded the merchant's honor. When on a certain occasion a person went back on his word in a business transaction, Rabbi Meir summoned him and said: "Whether the transaction was executed in the required legal form or not, you have given your word and you must keep it. For it is written (Zeph. 3.13): 'The remnant of Israel shall not do iniquity nor speak lies.'" This warning having proved ineffective, Rabbi Meir had the cantor condemn the man from the *Almemar* during the service as follows: "Hear ye, people, X does not intend to keep his word which he gave in this particular matter. Hence he has earned the disfavor of the sages and does not belong to the community of Israel which 'doth no injustice and speaketh no lies.' This man is a liar and has branded himself with the stigma of breaking his word."

The circle of Rabbi Meir consisted of the greatest scholars, and the School of Vienna was referred to as "our teachers in Austria." This is the term used by the famous Maharil who described the school in terms of the highest praise, and who himself had

laid there the foundation of his scholarship. Abraham Klausner, author of a book on *minhagim*, had exercised rabbinic functions in Vienna even before Rabbi Meir. Like Isaac Or Zaru'a, he engaged also in money-lending. He placed himself under the authority of Rabbi Meir, lived at peace with him, and made several decisions in collaboration with him.

CHAPTER V

THE GHETTO

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE GHETTO

THE spot upon which the drama of Jewish life in medieval Vienna was played was, at least since 1375, the *Judenplatz* and *Schulhof* of the present day, so called because of the synagogue (*Schul*) which covered about a third of the place, and because of the surrounding neighborhood. Being wards of the Duke, the Vienna Jews chose a district close to the castle of the ruler. This ghetto in its excellent and elevated location differed strikingly from the Jewish districts of other cities, such as Krems, which were situated in some forsaken section of the town where the air was contaminated and the light was poor. The Viennese Jewish district consisted of about seventy buildings, mostly two-story frame houses. Two families owned and occupied a house. The Steuss family owned a dozen houses which were standing up to the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The homes consisted of a living-room, bedroom and kitchen. The only stone building in the ghetto, the synagogue, first mentioned in 1204, was probably built by Schlom, the Master of the Mint. It stood on the site of Nos. 7 and 8 of the *Judenplatz* of today. The first Jewish hospital, which was connected with the synagogue by means of a corridor, was on the site of house No. 9 of today.

The Jewish district was not separated from its surroundings by a wall. The rear of the houses, however, constituted a natural barrier between the Jews and the neighboring burghers. It is this arrangement which sheds light upon a statement of Isaac Or Zaru'a that the court in Vienna lay behind the houses. Thus it is impossible to speak of a fencing-off of the Jews, except in so far as the individual streets of the Jewish district were provided with gates and archways. The gates at the exit and entrance of the most important street, the *Wipplingerstrasse* of today, bore the name "Jewish gates" (*Judentore*). Near one of these, between *Renngasse* 16 and *Wipplingerstrasse* 28, stood the *Judenturm* (Jewish Tower)—a tower which had been built into the city-wall in the days of Rome. It once bore a Hebrew inscription.

The courts of several houses adjoined moderately wide gardens. One of these was the so-called Jewish Garden (*Judengarten*) near the Monastery of the White Brothers. It is possible that the earliest Jewish burials took place here.

Jewish houses were situated also in other places.*

*The *Judengasse* of today is in a different place, between the *Hohenmarkt* and the *Rupertplatz* bordering on the *Seitenstetengasse*. It is first spoken of as *Judengessel*, in 1547. But already in 1329, a Vienna document mentions the fact that two Jews owned a house "in the *Gasse* which leads to the *Hohenmarkt*." This evidently means the *Judengasse*. If so, it is proof that the Jews were permitted to reside in any part of the town before the establishment of a Jewish district.

Maister lesyer



Lesyer, Jewish "Master" of Vienna (before 1389)

THE COMMUNITY

Besides the synagogue and the hospital, there were also a slaughter-house and bathhouses. A Jew rented the bath belonging to the *Schottenstift* (Benedictine monks). There was also a ritual bathhouse and a *Hebrah Kaddisha* (*Judenzeche*). The cemetery, first mentioned in 1244, was situated near the *Kärntnertor*. It was extended in 1349 and destroyed in 1421, the tombstones being scattered. The oldest Jewish tombstone inscription is of the year 1139. Nevertheless, all Jews were not buried there, for the Jewish Privilege of Ottakar in 1255, article 13, mentions the Jewish custom of carrying some of their dead for burial to a foreign country, evidently to the homeland of the deceased.

THE OFFICERS OF THE COMMUNITY

Like every guild, the Jewish organization also had its "Master." To the officers were entrusted the conduct of the community and its institutions, the decision of legal disputes among Jews, the allocation and collection of taxes, the representation of the community before the secular authorities, and other duties. The institution of the Masters is mentioned as early as 1238, and alongside of them, in 1364, the *Tube ha-Kahal*—the best Jews, or trustees.

The chief assistant to the executive officer was the Jewish sexton. He administered to the needs of the synagogue and acted as Hebrew interpreter before Christian judges and other officials. The

names of various cantors (*Sangmeister*, *Singer*) of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have been preserved. There was a house in the ghetto bearing the name *Kantorei*, the home of the cantor. In Tribuswinkel, in the vicinity of Baden near Vienna, the *Kantorei* has survived to this day.

SOCIAL LIFE

A picture of the inner life of the Austrian ghetto is furnished us by the account of Rabbi Isserlein of Wiener-Neustadt (died 1460). Life in Vienna was not different from that of Rabbi Isserlein's neighboring community. Every Sabbath all the members of the congregation visited him in order to wish him a happy Sabbath (*Gut Shabbos*). On the day before the Day of Atonement, everyone asked him for forgiveness, and in the evening, just before the *Kol Nidre* prayer, Rabbi Isserlein in turn had the following announcement made in the synagogue: "Hear ye, the entire holy congregation: Our teacher, Rabbi Isserlein, asks everyone for forgiveness; if anyone has a claim against him, he may present himself after the Day of Atonement." But no one ever had any claim. On Friday night and Saturday evening, his pupils who came from Austria, Carinthia, Italy and other countries, were guests at his table. People from every quarter of the globe brought him communications seeking instruction and judgment.

The Jews at the time suffered from great impoverishment, for the taxes imposed upon them, or rather

the money extorted, amounted to so much that some were deprived of half of their possessions. Isserlein himself asked complainingly, "How long will they continue to place new burdens upon us?"

In the fifteenth century, Jews in Austria were engaged in agriculture and vine-growing, and possessed fields and vineyards. There were also some who engaged in hard manual labor; Jewish women were employed as washerwomen in Christian homes. Christians and Jews were friendly in their relations with one another. The very decisions of the Council of Vienna of 1267 are an indication of these friendly relations and of the general popularity of the Jews. Christians gave wedding presents to the Jews; while on *Lag ba-Omer* Jews sent gifts to their Christian friends. As usual, Jews were compelled by the secular authorities to practice usury. It is worthy of note that, generally speaking, the Jews themselves were quite as convinced of the moral reprehensibility of this business as were any of their Christian contemporaries, and objected to being forced into the occupation of money-lending.

RELATIONS TO THE CHRISTIAN ENVIRONMENT

To what extent the Viennese Jews of the Middle Ages were physically different from the Christians it is difficult to say. The picture in one of the windows in the Cathedral of St. Stephen shows some of them not marked by so-called Jewish facial characteristics. True, they do have beards and

ear-locks and wear Jewish hats and dresses which one can recognize as Jewish. It is clear, however, that they spoke the German of the surrounding population, as may be assumed from extant literary specimens and compositions, such as Johannes Pauli's *Schimpf und Ernst*. They also participated in worldly pleasures such as hunting and playing games.

Their social relations with their neighbors were not always as cordial as one might think from the favorable references of the Bishop of Brixen, the ducal treasurer, in his promissory note to David Steuss. In the general literature which flourished especially in Austria, the Jew was unfavorably depicted as a usurer;* pawnbroker and Jew were synonymous. This is evident from the poems of Walter von der Vogelweide of the twelfth century, who sang of Palestine and even described the misfortunes of the Jews of his time. Ulrich von Liechtenstein of the thirteenth century was no better disposed towards them. Seifried Helbling of the thirteenth century, in the satires ascribed to him, portrayed a Jew Smoyel, who was avowedly a usurer, though he also charged Christians with taking usury. He also raised the old blood accusation. He placed the blame for the religious blindness and stiffneckedness of the Jews upon the Talmud. In other words, he deplored the Jews' refusal to become baptized.

*But not in the earliest *Death-dances*.

In order to protect themselves against the charge of having killed the Christian God, the Jews of Austria invented a fable about Abraham's visiting Austria and founding there a kingdom by the name of Judeisapta. Naturally, his descendants there, the Jews of Austria, could not have participated in the crucifixion. This legend had its parallels in Worms and other places, and its origin was everywhere due to the same cause—the desire to escape unjust persecution. The Viennese poet, Jansen Enikel, of the thirteenth century, about whose civil status nothing is known and who may have been of Jewish origin, tells of the myth in verse.

BOOK II—THE SECOND COMMUNITY

CHAPTER I

THE GROWTH OF THE SECOND JEWISH COMMUNITY

BEGINNINGS

IN spite of the fact that in 1421 Jews were banned from Vienna presumably forever, transient Jewish merchants or physicians were to be found there. They had been allowed to remain in neighboring, non-Austrian, territory as well as upon some lands belonging to the princes of Austria. The Medical Faculty of Vienna soon complained that, despite the Edict of Expulsion, Jews and other practitioners illegally continued to offer medical advice. About the same time, Nachim, in all likelihood of the Steuss family, appeared in Vienna with a project for imposts upon the Jews of Austria. He was the first Jew to serve Austria in the double capacity of Court-Jew and Tax-collector. "Isserlein" received a safe conduct from the Duke, through all his lands, in view of the fact that he was declared innocent of the crimes laid at the door of the other Jews in 1421.

In 1451, the German Emperor Frederick III, who was favorably disposed toward the Jews and who ruled Austria from 1458 to 1493, made an important attempt to rehabilitate them in Vienna.

He appealed to Pope Nicholas V, who was also friendly to the Jews, asking for toleration for them. The Pope issued a bull urging the restoration of rights to the Jews as being advantageous to the Christians. He said nothing about crimes alleged to have been committed against the Christian religion. Such a statement would have been included, had the Jews really been found guilty of a desecration of the Host in 1420. After the issue of the bull, Frederick, as Emperor of Germany, renewed for the Dukes of Austria the royal prerogatives over the Jews. As a Christian chronicler pointed out, Frederick was commonly regarded rather as King of the Jews than as King of the Christians. No people received greater protection from him than the Jews; he took care that no Jew should ever be deprived of his life.

Nevertheless, there was no immediate resettlement of Jews in Vienna. The reason for this lay in the hatred of them which was still rooted in the general population and especially in the burghers of the city. The Jewish community in Wiener-Neustadt occupied a position commanding respect. But in Vienna in 1454, there was only one Jewish physician who resided there under a letter of protection granted by the King. Throughout his life, Frederick remained in every way a loyal protector of the Jews. As Roman Emperor, he protected them in their freedom of movement against the wishes of the Austrian political powers, who repeatedly urged that the Jews be kept as far away from Austria as possible. Not even the literary propaganda, which was directed

against the Jews during his reign, deterred him from his just political stand.

The Estates petitioned his son, Maximilian I (1493–1519), to permit no Jews to settle in Austria. In spite of this, the Emperor granted various Jews permission to reside in Lower Austria. He even allowed them to dispense with the regulations about Jewish dress prescribed for those who stayed in Vienna. Yet it was not until 1518 that a Jew named Herschl conducted his business there under Court privilege and without hindrance. He belonged to a family which had stood in the service of the Imperial House for several generations. His business was connected with Zistersdorf, where oil-fields had just been discovered. The debt-ridden Emperor owed so much to Herschl that he was forced to order the Viennese to protect him until he could wind up his affairs. He granted similar letters of grace to the Marburger family in 1509. But the Jews in general, now exiled not only from Vienna but also from the rest of the country, found homes outside of Austria, in Eisenstadt, Marchegg, Eggenburg, and other places on the border.

THE COURT-PRIVILEGED JEWS

Ferdinand I (1522–1564) vigorously opposed the animosity against the Jews of the Austrian Estates. He insisted on deciding for himself whether to permit Jews to live in his lands or not. But he never showed any other than a financial interest in them. Consequently, he issued comparatively few letters of

grace to settle in Vienna. In 1542 a certain Moyse received the imperial privilege of conducting industry and commerce on a small scale, but not of lending money. This favor was due, however, to a just recognition of Moyse's service to the Royal Mint for a period of many years. He was further exempted from paying more than the usual rate on dutiable goods. A Jew named Mändl harbored non-privileged Jews in Vienna along with his family and was not disturbed. Between 1545 and 1556, negotiations were conducted between the Court and the authorities of the Vienna Medical Faculty about the "highly learned" Jewish physician Lazarus from Günzburg, "whose ability and medications had served well both the Court and everyone else." A passport to stay in Vienna was granted to Abraham of Mantua, a harpist, who gave music lessons to Ferdinand's children.

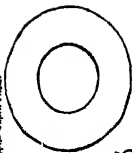
Aside from these instances, Jews stayed only occasionally in Vienna, while traveling. For the most part, they were Moravian merchants. They had to have a passport and were obliged to pay a penny per capita weekly and one gulden every year. A Jew who held a royal privilege was required to report to the authorities if he desired to stay over night in Vienna. Thereupon, he would receive a certificate which specified the length of his stay. He was compelled to take lodging in either of two houses (*Judenherbergen*) set aside for that purpose. Foreign Jews who did not belong to the royal domain had to report to the City Judge.

[illegible]

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Patent concerning the Jewish Badge, August 1, 1551

The effects of this regulation were, however, not as injurious as it might seem. For the provisions thereof were not made public, particularly in so far as it affected the Austrian Jews. It was deemed advisable to keep the country people, among whom the Jews lived, in ignorance of the Edict lest they draw the conclusion that refusal of residence to Jews in Vienna was due "to serious crimes and evil deeds," and rise up and deprive "the Jews of life, possessions, and property." In any event, as the Jews were careful to explain in a petition, publicity of their exclusion from Vienna would hurt their business and thus diminish the income of the State.

In spite of the small number of Jews in Vienna, Master Wolfgang Schmälzl, who removed from Leipzig to Vienna, mentioned their language among the tongues which he heard, and which he enumerated in his verses.

"I thought it was Babel to which I was coming
Where all language had had its beginning
Hebrew, Latin and Greek,
Russian, Serbian, Polish, Chaldean, . . ."

By Imperial order to the City of Vienna, all of the seven Jewish families in the city were housed in one building, in the *Himmelpfortgasse*, with the object of enabling one supervisor to watch their comings and goings. The regulation of 1551 ordered a change in dress. The yellow patch, worn on the left breast, was discarded, and the men wore, instead, a yellow circle and the women a yellow veil. Again and again decrees of expulsion were issued (1544, 1554, 1555, 1556), but either they became dead

letters or they made exceptions of those who were wealthy. In any event, Jews were still to be found in the vicinity of Vienna in 1561, ostensibly in order to complete some business transaction.

It is only in 1582, under Emperor Rudolph II (1564-1612), that we find a disposition to establish a new community in Vienna. From that year dates the oldest tombstone to be found in the Jewish cemetery in the *Seegasse*. The Jews forming this community were the so-called "Court-Privileged" (*Hofbefreite*), *Hebraei aulici*, to be distinguished from the "Court Jews" of the eighteenth century. To be *Hofbefreite* meant for Jews or Christians to belong to the Imperial Court and thereby to be freed from all taxation and other imposts of the cities. Ordinary citizens could not become *Hofbefreite*. But the Jewish merchants who acted as purveyors for the Court did have privileges which consisted in freedom from paying taxes to country and city, and in being exempted from tolls at moats and borders. They were likewise not subject to the jurisdiction of the city authorities or any other jurisdiction but that of the royal court. They were free from the obligation to wear the Jewish badge. They could stay as long as they pleased in any place in which the Emperor had his Court. The aim of this system was to create a more steady source of money by the imposition of a regular tax upon the Jews, rather than to derive an uncertain income from them through the grant of individual privileges. In 1567, the Jews were forbidden to lend money on future crops as security. For as a market for money,

Vienna itself hardly came into consideration at that time.

The first Jew to be ennobled was Jacob son of Samuel (hence Schmiele), who bore the family name of Bassevi. He was raised to nobility by Ferdinand II, and granted freedom of movement and the right to trade in Prague as well as in Vienna. Bassevi was the founder of several important Jewish families of England, as, for example, the Samuels. The *Federlhof*, which belonged to Bassevi, stood on the spot of the present *Bäckerstrasse*, No. 2. This, too, was the house in which the astrologer Argoli cast the horoscope for Wallenstein, for whom Bassevi was banker and agent.

From this small Jewish community, consisting altogether of thirty-one people, large sums of money were demanded. In 1599, they were asked for a loan of from 20,000 to 30,000 gulden. Financially exhausted by former demands, they declared themselves unable to provide any such sum. Thereupon they were threatened with expulsion and the threat was partly carried out.

COMMUNAL LIFE

There were in the community two "privileged *Schulen*," that is, in all likelihood, two legally opened synagogues. One of these must have been located on the spot of the modern *Sterngasse*; the other, which was to have been in the section of the modern *Salzgries*, was never built, for Maria Leonora erected the convent of the Carmelite Nuns

upon the plot of ground upon which the synagogue was to have been built.

Besides these two synagogues, there was a private synagogue which Veit Munk, as president of "the entire privileged Jewry," received the right to erect in 1603. He also had authority to appoint a rabbi, cantor, teacher, and *Shammash*. At the head of the new Jewish community was a committee of "Jewish judges" (*Judenrichter*). That was the name by which the representatives of the community were thereafter designated by the authorities. Lay judges also were elected, who are not to be confused with the regularly appointed *Dayyanim*. Altogether the executive committee consisted of five judges, two assessors, six jurists, that is paid *Dayyanim*, and finally, three treasurers.

In 1614, the government divided its imposts among forty-four Jewish households. There soon followed a partial purging of the Jews, evidently the removal of such elements as were unable to make the payments imposed upon them. But the following year the numbers were again increased by the admission of eighteen more privileged members of the community. Even those who had been expelled were soon permitted to return. But they were no longer considered among the privileged and were put under the authority of the City Judge and the City administration. They were not, however, to be considered as citizens, although, in various cities, Jews could become citizens during the Middle

Ages. As a result, the Jews of Vienna were subject to a threefold jurisdiction: their own community, the Emperor and the City.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

The Jews of Vienna were not affected by the Thirty Years' War as much as the Jews of Prague. Nevertheless, during the occupation of the city by the imperial soldiers in 1619, the Jews suffered serious tribulations which the constituted authorities could not remove.

Their depressed spirits are reflected in some contemporary private letters dispatched by Jews of Prague to their relatives in Vienna. All of the letters bear the same date, November 22, 1619. The messenger who carried them to Vienna was captured by imperial soldiers, and, in this way, the letters found their way into the State Archives.

As source-documents for the cultural life of the Jews, these letters are interesting chiefly because they were all written on one day, in one place, and with one object. Moreover, they were addressed to relatives, and reveal the most secret recesses of the writers' hearts. Indirectly, they also afford a glimpse into the feelings of the Jews of Vienna. The ideals of the writers were unswerving righteousness and trust in God, a thorough grounding in the traditional literature, for the acquisition of which no sacrifice was too great, and an exemplary family life. *Mischkeln*, that is money-lending upon a pledge, was considered a necessary evil. The treasures of the

spirit, however, were placed above all earthly possessions. The difficulties of the time made it necessary for the father of the family to plan the marriage of his daughter at an early age. One of the letters of Rabbi Lipmann Heller dealt with this problem. All too frequently the letters indicate that their writers had come close to a martyr's death.

FERDINAND II (1619-1637)

In order to obtain a confirmation of their privileges from the new Emperor, Ferdinand II, the privileged Jews had to provide a further loan of 10,000 florins in 1619. The next year the exigencies of war caused the authorities to demand still another sum of 17,000 florins. Since the Jews could not raise this sum, their synagogue and mercantile establishments were closed. Thereupon, they offered a free gift of 9,500 florins. At the same time, they complained that they could barely provide bread for their wives and children.

From about 1620 on, the trade in coins was in Jewish hands. Court-Jews like Bartelmus Simon and Israel Auerbach in Vienna, and the above-named Jacob Bassevi of Prague, creator of the so-called *Schmielesthaler*, controlled the commerce in old silver and held the concession for the manufacture of new coins. A certain Count Trautson granted the concession for the manufacture of his coins to Veit Brodt and Abraham Riess, a son-in-law of Veit Munk. Likewise the Cardinal Count Dietrichstein had his coinage at Brunn and Olmutz

manufactured by a Jewish company. In Vienna the work of restamping Spanish money was entrusted by the Spanish ambassador to Jews. The exchange of foreign money was also in the hands of Vienna Jews. Altogether it seems that the minting of money was a business in which they gave satisfaction. But increased income merely meant the payment of higher taxes.

The permission given to the Jews in 1622 to erect a new synagogue was withdrawn when the building was assuming too elaborate an appearance. It was suddenly discovered that the Viennese Church Council of 1267 had forbidden the building of any new synagogues whatever. As a matter of fact, the prohibition to complete the synagogue was due both to the intervention of the Empress and to the negotiations which were in progress at the time between the government and the City with regard to new regulations restricting residence of the Jews in Vienna.

The Viennese burghers had once more begun to complain of the exceptional position in which the Court-privileged Jews were placed in litigation and of their exemptions from taxation. In order to satisfy them the Emperor appointed a commission which finally decided upon a plan to settle the Jews in a separate district on the "lower bank," that is in the Leopoldstadt of today. That would overcome such an existing evil as the crowding into one house of seventeen Jewish families.

With the carrying into effect of this proposal, the second settlement of the Jews in the inner city of

Vienna came to an end. One hundred and twenty-five tombstones dating from 1581 to 1624 have remained as silent witnesses of the fate of the Jews during those four decades.

YOMTOB LIPMANN HELLER (1579-1654)

Though the well-being of the Jewish community was dependent upon currying the ruler's personal favor, the Jews freely exercised their right of appointing their rabbis. Probably the most prominent of these, who served for only a short time (1625-1626), was Yomtob Lipmann Heller, the author of *Tosafot Yomtob*, a commentary on the Mishna. He was born in 1579 at Wallerstein, Germany, and received his education in the house of the great Rabbi Löw in Prague. He acted as *Dayyan*, that is, rabbinic judge, in Prague at the early age of eighteen. In 1624, he was called to Nikolsburg and the next year to Vienna. After the removal of the community he formulated new regulations for it. Among these was the reading before the morning prayers of the ten teachings of Asheri from his old Hebrew ethical work, a custom which is still maintained. The following year he was invited to become Chief Rabbi of Prague, and his acceptance eventually involved him in misfortune. Some Jews of the community of Prague, whose enmity he incurred while allocating the taxes as impartially as possible, charged him before the authorities with insulting Christianity in some passages of his writings. These were thought sufficiently incriminating for the authorities to send

him in chains to Vienna in 1629. He was confined in prison for forty days till his friends in his former congregation had him freed by the payment of a thousand florins. Banished from all imperial lands, he wandered to Lithuania. But his fearless stand against the corrupt abuses of a venal rabbinate incurred enmity against him there. He died in Lithuania in 1654 in great poverty. Only one of his sermons is extant, the one he preached after the plague of 1626.*

*Among the preachers (*Darshanim*) were Abraham ben Moses Halevi (Heller Wallerstein) and, until 1602, Abraham ben Simon. Pesah ben Jacob was a *Dayyan*. Distinguished in Jewish scholarship are the names of the physicians Moses Maor Katan (Lucerna) and Elias Halfan; also Abraham Flesch, who died in 1640; Solomon ben Simon, an ancestor of the Falk family of Vienna Court Jews; and, finally, members of the family Rapaport (Rapa-Cohen). Of Jewish physicians of this period we know of Isaac of Heilbronn, whose practice the Medical Faculty tried to stop in 1581; Wendl, who also suffered from the same difficulty, David, and the above-named Lucerna and Halfan. Lucerna, who died in 1605, maintained himself in spite of the conflicts with the Medical Faculty. At one time he was even proposed for the position of Army physician.

CHAPTER II

THE SECOND GHETTO

THE inhabitants of the new Jewish district received from Ferdinand II all the rights necessary for the full development of the settlement—the right to possess property, freedom of trade, and autonomous jurisdiction. So great was the influence of the Jews with the Emperor that they interceded with him in favor of oppressed Jewish communities in Hanau and Mantua and elsewhere. They had free access to the inner city in which their places of business were located, but they were allowed to remain there only for the day, during business hours.

The district in which they resided was connected with the inner city by means of a drawbridge across the Danube Canal. It was bounded by the modern Taborstrasse, the Augarten, and Malz, Franz Hochedlinger and Krummbaum Streets. The periphery of the district was about one and a third kilometers in length.

The Jews of Vienna moved to their new quarters on July 16, 1625. During the next four decades, the houses in the district increased from 15 to 132, and the families from 130 to 500, counting an average of two to three persons to a family.

Within a short time after their removal, their political situation took a turn for the worse. As early as 1630, while still under the government of

the otherwise well-intentioned Ferdinand II, the Jews of Vienna and Prague were forced to listen to religious sermons. Every Jew had to attend in his turn on a Saturday afternoon at the long halls of the monastery of the Brothers of Mercy, whose object was to convert him. Two hundred Jews had to be present, of whom at least one-third had to be women and one-fifth children of both sexes. Those who stayed away had to pay a fine which inured to the benefit of the converts. But there were no converts!

It was probably the influence of Cardinal Khlesl which caused the intolerance of the Emperor, hitherto directed against the Protestants, to be extended also to the Jews. And it was Father Lamormain, the Emperor's confessor, who, seeing the ghetto of Rome, decided to influence the Emperor to establish a similar ghetto in Vienna.

FERDINAND III (1637-1657)

ECONOMIC HISTORY

The Jews of the second ghetto were not primarily money-lenders, as those of the first ghetto had been. They were merchants engaged in international trading, especially with Italy, Poland and Turkey. In 1646, they were forbidden to corner the market, to engage in smuggling or to deal in linen, saffron, fish, cereals and any other kind of staples. The government itself acknowledged in 1670 that they were preferable as providers of money for the Court

and in matters of imperial finances. There were numerous stables in the ghetto for stalling the horses used in travel, as well as for those which they bought and sold, especially for the Court. They also purchased jewels for the Court. In fact, in 1645 the Emperor had actually forbidden them to engage in lending money on pledges, while in 1670 the whole amount of Christian indebtedness to them was a hundred thousand florins, and that was not all incurred through money-lending. On the other hand, at that time they were themselves in the debt of the Christians. The Carmelite Monastery was one of their creditors.

The Jews were again permitted to rent shops for a large grant of money, and by 1668 they had as many as seventy.

The truth of the matter was that the majority of the Jews lived from hand to mouth. Yet the magistrate of Vienna tried to show that the Jews were rich, because there were no Jewish beggars. He also raised against them the old charge that they were a burden to Christendom. Insulting remarks against Christianity made by a criminal apostate before he ascended the gallows aroused the populace to excesses against the Jews in 1642. By 1638, they were occasionally handed over to the jurisdiction of the City rather than to that of the Court Marshall. Little by little the Emperor began to hand them over to the City authorities so that gradually they fell into the hands of their bitterest enemies. In 1649, the magistrate deliberately closed their houses and synagogues and thus obtained the right to tax

them. Thus encouraged, the populace, greedy for booty, fell upon them. Finally, the Jews succeeded in obtaining an "imperial pardon" at the price of 80,000 florins.

Because of its hospitality to fugitives from the Polish persecution of 1648, the community was assuming a difficult burden at a critical time. The sword of Damocles hung over them once more; they were again in danger of expulsion. A riot growing out of the murder of a Jewess, Leonora del Banco, by a Christian broke out against them. Other murder trials in which Jews were unjustly implicated excited further hostility.

After the departure of Heller, the spiritual direction of the community fell to Dr. Leo Lucerna, son of Moses Lucerna, a physician. He held a doctor's degree from three different faculties of the University of Padua. His Jewish learning enabled him to administer the rabbinic office at the same time.

His brother Aaron also practiced medicine in Vienna in 1614, and in Prague about 1619. From Aaron's well-known correspondence it appears that he made his professional visits on horseback. Later he returned to Vienna, where he died in 1643. He and the physician Leo Winkler, together with the latter's two sons, worthily represented the spiritual life of Vienna Jewry of that day. They remind one of the Ephraim Bonus immortalized by Rembrandt.

The Polish immigration increased economic distress but brought spiritual enrichment. During that period several men of note acted as rabbis in Vienna. One was Rabbi Phöbus, who later, in 1655,

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emigrated to Palestine. But even more noted than he was Sabbatai Horwitz, son of the well-known author of the *Shelo*, to which he wrote an introduction. His place of origin was Volhynia, and he held the rabbinic office in Prague, Fürth, Frankfort on Main, Posen, and finally in Vienna, where he died in 1660. He possessed the unusual combination of great Talmudic learning, deep understanding of mystical literature, worldly wisdom, and fine tact. These were qualities which stood the community in good stead in its hour of need.

LEOPOLD I (1657-1705)

During the reign of Leopold I, beginning 1657, the condition of the Jews became deplorable. Despite his ratification of their privileges he handed the Jewish community over completely to the mercy of the Council of Vienna, which, under the pretense of an appraisal for taxing purposes, forced its way into the ghetto and made an inventory of Jewish property (1660). Finally, a new attack upon the ghetto occurred in 1668. It was ruthlessly suppressed, but it served as the prelude to the tragedy which ended with the expulsion of the Jews from Vienna in 1670.

THE EXPULSION OF 1670

On March 1, 1670, the herald sounded his trumpet and announced publicly that by Corpus Christi Day every Jew must leave the City of Vienna.

The chief instigator of this act was Bishop Kollonitsch of Wiener-Neustadt. But the Empress, a Spanish princess, noted for her innate anti-Jewishness, stood behind him. A miscarriage and a fire in the imperial palace were both interpreted by her as omens that she should expel the Jews to avoid further misfortune. All attempts to dissuade her were unavailing. Through the intervention of Queen Christina of Sweden, Manoel Teixeira, a respected Jew of Hamburg, won over the Pope. But not even the Pope was able to turn the Empress from her purpose. A high official, Count Jörger, warned the government against this attempt, "unceremoniously and without cause, to take away rights which had been legitimately obtained and dearly paid for." He maintained that such illegal procedure might destroy the confidence of Christians also. Nor did the Edict of Expulsion offer any reason for the cruel decree. It dealt in generalities about "very pressing reasons."

The ruling spirit of the leading circle around the Emperor was that of religious fanaticism; the guiding motive of the Vienna population was envy. National hatreds had not yet come to the fore. It is true that shortly before the expulsion the government decreed that all meetings of the officers of the Jewish community were to be conducted in the German language and in the presence of a citizen of Vienna. This, however, is not to be considered as an attempt at Germanization, such as was attempted a century later, but only as one of those

bits of chicanery by which the Viennese expressed their hatred for the Jews.

A partial expulsion of the year before had affected the poor Jews, who constituted about half of the community. Among them had been old men, women, children and invalids. In August, 1670, Vienna was completely without Jews. The numerous rural communities in Lower Austria, where many Jews lived in villages, were also sent into exile.

Before the departure, the sons of the rich Koppel Fränkl, whose family had migrated into Vienna from Bavaria during the Thirty Years' War, paid 4,000 florins out of their own pockets to the City of Vienna for the protection of the community's cemetery, which had been communal property since 1517. Subsequently, in 1733, a further payment of three hundred florins was made to make certain that this cemetery should not be molested and should be considered the property of Vienna's Jewry. (Koppel Fränkl died shortly before the expulsion, but no tombstone could be placed upon his grave until sixteen years later.) Although any one could avoid exile by adopting Christianity, nevertheless, as the Swedish ambassador to Vienna mentions with astonishment, there was not a single one among the 3,000 or 4,000 souls who deserted his brethren.

The University greeted the expulsion of the Jews with particular delight. In 1669, the Rector of the University placed an engraving in the matriculation

register, immortalizing the whipping of Jews by students, an act which as a rule went unpunished. The rector of 1670 memorialized the date of Leopold's act in the following words, in the register: "In the year when Emperor Leopold expelled the Hebrews from Vienna and Austria . . ." (*Anno quo ab imperatore Leopoldo Vienna a Austria relegati sunt Hebraei*).

CHAPTER III

SPIRITUAL AND MORAL CONDITIONS

IN spite of political oppression and economic need, the second Vienna ghetto enjoyed a comparatively active spiritual life. An honored member of the community was Zechariah Halevi, the founder of the great synagogue, which was afterwards converted into the Leopold Church. He had also established a school-house in which twenty-four young men received board and lodging, so that they might study day and night. The laying of the foundation for this institution has been interestingly described by Wagenseil. He says that it was founded "because talmudic study has been so much neglected among the Jews that men are appointed to the rabbinate who had not read through a single talmudic tractate. This is especially true of Italians, Portuguese and Germans, whereas among Polish Jews the study of the Talmud is zealously pursued." Sometime before, houses of study had been maintained by Abraham Flesch, Issachar Beer Zoref, Leo Lucerna and Gershom Cohen Rapa. One of these houses must have been connected with the old synagogue out of which the chapel of St. Margaret was created in 1675. Similar zeal in the spread of learning animated Abraham Riess-Oettingen, the leader of the Vienna community, who established a house of study and a dormitory in Jerusalem. Interest

in the land of their fathers must have dominated the hearts of the Jews of Vienna, for they had charge of the central relief treasury for the poor of Jerusalem. But personal needs as well as communal desires induced Zechariah Halevi to establish a similar institution of learning in Vienna. The object was to plant the study of the Torah in that city, and not let Poland have a monopoly of it. Soon the title of honor, "Metropolis of the Spirit," was granted to Vienna just as it had been to other communities, and by that time it was well-deserved. In fact, about 1660 Vienna became a center of Jewish knowledge as well as of charity, and its influence extended to many other communities. The fact that natives of Vienna were honored with the title of "Gaon" speaks highly for the spiritual attainments of the community of Vienna.

SABBATAI HORWITZ (1590-1660)

The settlement of Polish Jews in the community resulted in the adoption of the so-called *pilpul* method in the study of the Talmud. On the other hand, by the very side of these *pilpulists*, there lived in Vienna the mystic Jacob Ashkenazi Temerls. A native of Worms, he made Vienna a center of Cabalistic speculation. Mysticism naturally reached its pinnacle with the appearance of Sabbatai Zebi upon the scene. But Sabbatai Horwitz, as Rabbi of Vienna, refused to permit any kind of extreme in the Vienna community. Before coming to Vienna, while Rabbi of Frankfort, he had already distinguished

himself by his insistence upon orderly synagogue service, and was known to have a preference for the German and Dutch method of Talmudic study. In his most important work, *Vave ha-'Amudim* (*The Bolts of the Pillars*, Ex. 27.10), which was written as an introduction to the famous work of his father, *Shene Lulhot ha-Berit* (*The Two Tablets of the Covenant*), he dealt with the fundamentals of Jewish living. Basing his ideas upon the views expressed in the *Ethics of the Fathers* (*Pirke Abot* 1.18), where the six pillars of the good life are enumerated as Torah, Divine Service, Charity, Truth, Justice and Peace, he emphasized the ethical content of the Godly teaching. It was his view that religious organizations should publish translations and explanations of the daily prayers as well as of those that are read on feast and fast days (*Piyyutim* and *Selihot*). In order to do away with conversation and disturbances during the service, he suggested the appointment of overseers. He praised the conscientiousness of the German Jews in paying a tithe (*ma'aser*) of their income for the support of the poor. His testament, which is usually published in the *Siddur* arranged by his father (*Sha'are Ha-Shamayim*), is interesting because of the advice he gives to his children: to study, to be brief in preaching, and to make no personal references to any one in the audience. He also published penitential hymns and hymns of mourning in commemorating the Jewish persecutions of 1648, as well as a letter of commendation to the Latin edition of Menasseh ben Israel's *Conciliador*.

GERSHOM ULIF ASHKENAZI (d. 1693)

His successor, Gershom Ulif Ashkenazi, was born in Cracow. Before coming to Vienna in 1665, he acted as rabbi in Prossnitz, Hanau, and Nikolsburg. It was he who stemmed the tide of Sabbatianism in Austria. According to his pupil and successor in the rabbinate of Nikolsburg, the famous book collector David Oppenheim, Rabbi Gershom laid chief emphasis upon the study of the Talmud. Besides his comments to sections of the *Shulhan 'Aruk* known as *Hiddushe ha-Gershuni* and his sermons, entitled *Tiferet ha-Gershuni*, he was author of a book of responsa named *'Abodat ha-Gershuni*. These responsa prove his importance for his generation, for they show that questions on ritual problems were addressed to him by large and distant communities, like Prague and Tiberias. Around him were gathered men like Mordecai Levi-Oettingen (Riess), who had been rabbi in Schnaittach, Uri Lipmann Darshan, Naftali Hirz from Frankfort on Main, and Haggai Hanoach, son-in-law of the rich Koppel Fränkl. He was the rabbi at the time of the expulsion of 1670. He went from Vienna to Metz, where he was active and greatly increased his authority. In the year following his death in 1693, many communities, in sorrow and mourning for their loss, did not permit music to be played even at weddings. In the course of the expulsion, some of his manuscripts were lost. Fortunately, because of his efforts, Sabbatianism did not make headway in Vienna. He joined with Jacob Sasportas of Hamburg and Aaron Simon

Spira of Prague in a united front to counteract this movement, and was successful. Although he believed that neither prayer nor study was acceptable to God where there was wrangling, he considered the battle for truth even more important. He, therefore, severely condemned the attempts of men like Hirshel Meyer to obtain influence in the community by the assistance of the government.

SOCIAL LIFE

The charitable spirit which prevailed in the community is evidenced by the fact that only a year before their expulsion, the Viennese Jews hospitably received into their midst a group of sixty-three Jews who had been expelled from Prague. Inscriptions on the tombstones further reveal the charitable spirit which prevailed in the community. The community had two hospitals. One, established in 1632, administered to the needs of seventeen percent of the sick population. Another hospital—a smaller one—was connected with a synagogue. A special hospital necessitated by the epidemic of 1666 was built on the grounds of the Jewish Cemetery. During this year, street-cleaning was introduced in the Vienna ghetto. The ritual bath of the community was situated in the street which was named after it, *Badgasse*. The memorial-volume of the Vienna community of this period is still in existence. The brothers Fränkel took it along with them to their new home in Fürth, where it is still to be seen. Among many interesting entries since the year 1633,

it contains an annual prayer (*Mi She-berak*) for the Holy Burial Society (*Haburah ha-Kedoshah shel Kabranim*). It also has a special prayer as a reward for particularly deserving persons. These included all those who regularly, on the eve of the Sabbath, made donations to *Yeshivot* and to students and teachers of the Torah; those who were instrumental in finding husbands for poor girls; those who redeemed captives; those who did not interrupt the service by private conversation between the prayers *Baruk She-amar* and the *Shemone 'Esre*, as well as during the repetition of the latter; those who conscientiously responded with an Amen in the proper place, and those who used only *kasher* wine.

LOYALTY TO THE FAITH

The attitude of Christian contemporaries towards the Jews is noteworthy. Edward Brown, personal physician to Charles II, who spent some time in Vienna as the representative of the Medical Society of London, was sufficiently interested while there to visit some of the synagogues. Many celebrities, including officers, cultivated friendly relations with the Jews, as a rule however attaching themselves chiefly to those who stood close to the governing circles. Matthias Abele, immediately before the expulsion, was often a guest of Jewish families and advised them to adopt Christianity. He undoubtedly was commissioned to effect their conversion by his superiors and was authorized to promise permission to remain in Vienna as a reward. But, as he reported,

these "damned martyrs of the devil" preferred to have themselves burned rather than to move a hair's breadth from their faith. Indeed, there were two martyrs at the time, as the memorial-volume of the school of Zechariah Halevi, now in the possession of the community of Mislitz in Moravia, reports.

WAGENSEIL (1633-1705)

Irrefutable and important testimony of the highly moral condition of the Jews of this period is furnished by Johann Christian Wagenseil, a young Christian scholar from Nuremberg who resided in Vienna during the fifties of the seventeenth century. Tutor in the home of a Vienna nobleman, he devoted his spare time to the study of Jewish literature. In studying books, he employed a Jewish teacher, but in his study of Jewish life he depended upon observation and personal relationships with respected Jews, such as Dr. Leo Winkler. He would sit beside him in the synagogue not far from the ark. Thus, he mingled with the most important members of the community at the time of the service. When a burning candle fell over one Saturday, his quick action prevented a fire. About thirty years later, as professor at a German university, he began compiling a series of works, including everything derogatory to the teachings of Christianity that was to be found in Jewish books. Needless to say, this publication was a bitter disappointment to his former Jewish friends. Certainly, Wagenseil cannot be cleared of

the suspicion of duplicity, since he had been gathering material for his "denunciation of the Jews," as he himself called one of his works, under the mask of friendship, and had the assistance of Jewish scholars. It is true, his sources were not secret Jewish documents, but books accessible to everyone. He at least set down some criticisms of Jews they themselves had made, so that he afforded a contrast to the slanderers of the Jews like his own contemporary, Eisenmenger. He had a truly scholarly understanding of Jewish writings. His judgments about Jews and Judaism are, therefore, all the more important since his conclusions often turn out to be flattering in spite of himself. Like Balaam, he came to curse Israel and blessed them instead, painting a picture of them which redounds to their glory. It would have been very remarkable if there had never appeared among the Christians themselves advocates of the Jews, who protested against persecution and forced conversion.

Wagenseil's writings afford proof that Judaism, as interpreted by its most important representatives, is not bitter towards Christianity. He quotes an authoritative Jewish scholar to the effect that it is senseless as well as contrary to the Jewish religion to hate Christians or any other human group. Wagenseil himself states that the Talmud, which he regards as an exceptional and remarkable work, contains no disparaging remarks about Christianity. It is also to his credit that he strongly disapproved of the blood accusation, forcible conversions, and of bad treatment of the Jews generally. He tells his

readers that the Jews have been robbed and deceived, whipped without cause, made the target of filth, stones and snowballs, splashed with dung, their beards set on fire, and he regrets that the authors of such persecutions are actually proud of them. He deplors the fact that the Courts unjustly discriminated against them, while the general public treated them worse than dogs. He sees no reasons for such treatment, since Christian businessmen had themselves frequently denied that Jews were dishonest. Had the charge been true, the Jews would have been unable to obtain credit and would have lost their customers. Jewish physicians who had received the highest honors in Italy not only treated their gentile patients conscientiously, but even violated the Sabbath to write prescriptions for them. The *Aggada*, which Christian scholars had always treated with contempt as rabbinic stupidity, he considered as being highly instructive fables, as a species of popular literature of a highly moral character, differing in this respect from the folklore of other nations. The popular Judeo-German works were designed to relieve the reader from cares and to comfort him in his sorrows. Comparatively few criminals were found among the Jews, yet when one of them did wrong, all the others were unjustly condemned.

CHAPTER IV

THE JEWS AND THEIR ENVIRONMENT

TRADE AND COMMERCE

WHILE the Jews of Vienna were not generally wealthy, nevertheless, they were of considerable economic importance. When trade and commerce were practically destroyed by the Thirty Years' War they established new centers of trade. They were the sole agents who provided the Court and the armies with all the necessities of warfare. They sent the largest contingents to the fairs, and put new life into them. Their trade with Turkey was of special value, but they were compelled to abandon it because their envious Christian competitors unjustly charged them with high treason during the Turkish wars.

The Jews of Vienna brought tin and cloth from Austria, Nuremberg and Berchtesgaden to Belgrade, Ofen, and Constantinople; they also sold products from Vienna, Venice, Padua and Mantua in Regensburg and Frankfort. The numerous stalls in the ghetto bore testimony to their trade between Hungary and Frankfort, Leipzig, Holstein and Frisia. They sent jewels to Pressburg, Graz, and Glogau. Jewish coin-dealers from Vienna bought gold and silver for the imperial mints in Austria, Bohemia, Moravia and Hungary. They rendered

important service as lenders of money to the Court and acted as middlemen. They also helped the government in the regulation of new taxes upon goods.

The Jewish taxes alone formed an important factor in the economics of the State and the City. They had to pay the high annual sum of 3,000 florins to the State. In addition, they were charged with extraordinary war-taxes and fines, the latter by reason of baseless accusations of informers. In 1668, their combined income totaled only 70,000 florins, and they fell into debt. In fact, nearly ten years before they had been 150,000 florins in debt. Moreover, they paid 10,000 to 15,000 florins in custom duties, annually, during the last years of their residence in Vienna. The 2,000 oxen imported from Hungary, which were consumed in the ghetto, cost them 8,000 florins. There were, besides, capital taxes, New Year's money, etc. All their obligations to the state government reached the sum of 40,000 florins. The regular annual city tax was 1,050 florins. Other city taxes amounted to from 700 to 1,000 florins.

For its own needs, the Jewish community imposed taxes upon meat and wine. Most of the members of the community were so poor that they could not pay anything at all. Hence, two families, and later eight families, had to bear the burden of the entire community, of which they were the nucleus. In 1669 the business of the merchants was ruined on account of the imperial edict prohibiting Christians from lending money to Jews.

The community included also nine tailors, three innkeepers, one ropemaker, three meat dealers, four bead-stringers, a dealer in iron, a jeweler, a coin-dealer, and two goldsmiths. Some of these bore the names of their occupations. Altogether, there were less than thirty persons engaged in a definite manual occupation.

THE JEW AT HOME

Jews lived modestly. In 1669, the ghetto held 500 families, numbering 2,000 persons, and occupying 120 dilapidated houses, some of which are still preserved. More than half of the dwellings were thatched, nearly all the rest being roofed with shingles. Only five houses had roofs of brick. Some of the dwellings had only a living-room and a bedroom, not even a kitchen. Plaster and stucco were extremely rare. Two residences had an adjoining *Sukkah*. One house possessed leaden pipes through which water was pumped upon the ground. The Vienna magistrates, in appraising these houses, fixed the value of those in the poorest condition at forty florins, and of the very few in good condition at 7,200 florins.*

In spite of the poor living conditions, the health of the Jews in the ghetto was in general no worse than that of the rest of the citizens of Vienna. It is hard to tell to what extent the Sanitation Police of Vienna, toward whose up-keep the Jews contributed 300 florins annually, kept the streets of the

*See Appendix C, p. 483.

ghetto clean. Infant mortality was high, a fact due to the frequent epidemics. Adults, though not infrequently reaching the age of seventy and even eighty, died for the most part of diseases of the lungs. Many women died in childbirth, a frequent cause of mortality. On the whole, Jewish physicians such as the Halfans, Lucernas, Winkler, and Hershl Elias, were highly respected for their ability among the Christians as well as among the Jews.

DEEP SHADOWS: HIRSHEL MEYER

Externally the political and economic conditions of the Jews were not secure. Quarrels in their own midst brought additional hardships. A Bohemian Jew by the name of Hayyim Engelsberg, who broke into one of the synagogues of Prague, escaped punishment through conversion. He then proceeded to call upon his former coreligionists to accept Christianity. Undertaking to convert them, he received a friendly reception in Vienna from both the Emperor and the nobility. When he lost favor, he and two other apostates broke into the treasure-vault of an arch-duchess. They were caught and condemned to death by hanging. Numerous Jews came to attend the execution. Engelsberg suddenly repudiated his belief in Christianity from the scaffold and confessed that when he had received the holy sacrament, he had wrapped the Host in his handkerchief and thrown it upon the ash-heap. The crowd became greatly incensed and fell upon the innocent Jewish bystanders. They killed some of them, and then

plundered some Jewish houses. Engelsberg himself was mutilated in the cruelest manner and, while he recited the last Confession, was burned on the hill, on the very spot upon which Jewish martyrs had met their gruesome death two hundred years before.

Other misfortunes arose seven years later. There was excitement growing out of the attempt of a student to force his way into the Jewish district in spite of the vigorous resistance of the guards. (For their protection, the Jews had to maintain, at their own expense, a military establishment of 300 men.)

Two years later, a prominent Jewess was shot dead. The authorities offered a large sum of money as a reward for the apprehension of the murderer, "because the deed was considered to have been encouraged by the Jews themselves." In fact, some respected members of the Jewish community were arrested, probably as a result of information furnished by Hirshel Meyer whose object was to destroy the entire Jewish community.

This scamp, who, by the way, owed money to the murdered Jewess, had come to Vienna in 1650 from a rural community. He acquired a house and settled there. He made some enemies and, in order to get rid of them, denounced them before the authorities. Innocent people were often arrested only to be set free because the complaint was obviously groundless. But the government determined to avail itself of his services as a stool-pigeon to learn the secrets of the Jewish community. To be sure, the government was aware of his baseness;

he is characterized in the documents of the finance department as "a rascal, vindictive, wicked, and brazen." He tyrannized over Jews, caused many of them to be stripped of all their possessions, and plotted against the lives of some of them. The officials of the government used him particularly to obtain information so as to foil the attempts of any Jews to avoid payment of large taxes. His unscrupulousness and position of trust with the authorities naturally caused the Jews to hate him with a burning hatred. His life was not safe outside of Austrian territory. In order to afford him greater protection, the authorities withdrew him from the jurisdiction of the Jews and placed him under that of the chief marshal of the Court. The members of the Jewish community were publicly warned not to do him any harm. They were forbidden to excommunicate him and were even ordered to allow him to participate in their religious life. Having risen to the position of Jewish judge, an office which made him a member of the governing body of the community, he became a sort of police commissioner for the Jews of Vienna, and had the government's support.

His rise to power began in 1651, when for a commission of eight percent he undertook to collect the taxes from the Jews who lived upon the flatlands of Lower Austria. Since he proceeded ruthlessly against those who delayed payment, he did not feel himself safe in the country towns. Hence he transferred his home to Vienna, where he could be under the protection of the officials, and in a position to imprison delinquent taxpayers. All the complaints

against him, even from members of the Christian nobility under whose protection the Jews lived, were of no avail.

He thrived upon his rascality because of the greed of the officials, the hatred for the Jews of the Christian population, and the economic straits of the Jews. Everything seemed to conspire to prejudice the Emperor against them and to bring on a catastrophe.

In 1665, the body of a Christian woman, the wife of a shoemaker, was found in a swamp in the ghetto. It was perfectly clear that her own husband had murdered her. Nevertheless, several respected Jews were arrested on the charge of having been accessories to the crime. When their innocence was demonstrated and they were set free, the Christian population became so excited that three hundred guardsmen were necessary to protect the ghetto. Two years later, the Jews turned to the Emperor for relief from the persecutions of Meyer. For he had become the general tax-farmer for all the Jews, including those of Vienna, and had begun to act with unlimited authority, like a veritable Pasha. Finally, an investigation of his activities was instigated. Thereupon, he burned the tax-books and substituted false ones. Foiled in his attempt at flight, he once more resorted to denunciation. He accused seven members of the Jewish community of the murder of a woman. Thereupon, he along with several other Jews was sent to prison in Wiener-Neustadt. Soon thereafter, it was discovered that a

Christian maid of the woman had murdered her, and the prisoners were set free.

An investigation of the transactions between Meyer and the tax-officials showed that, in the course of something like two decades, he had cheated the Emperor of 2,200,000 florins.* As a penalty for his embezzlement, 70,000 florins of his property were confiscated and a fine of 25,000 florins was imposed. He was declared bankrupt and exiled. But the authorities feared him because he knew too many secrets involving the ruling circles. After the general Jewish expulsion, he received permission from the Emperor to attend the markets of Lower Austria, being among the first Jews to whom the privilege was granted.**

*According to a report in a Frankfort newspaper of the time.

**See Appendix D, p. 484.

BOOK III—THE THIRD COMMUNITY

CHAPTER I

SAMUEL OPPENHEIMER

SAMUEL OPPENHEIMER was the first Jew to establish himself permanently in Vienna after 1676.

The destruction of the second ghetto of Vienna was no more productive of good results than was that of the first; and before long the joy of the Emperor turned to regret. He had been at the cornerstone laying of the Church of Leopold which was erected on the spot of the Great Synagogue. He had also attended its dedication when Kollonitz delivered a sermon. The city had undertaken to make up for deficits ensuing from the expulsion of the Jews, by contributing various sums of money, 10,000 florins annually to replace the Jewish tax of toleration, 4,000 florins in lieu of the amount annually paid by the rural Jews, and a lump sum of 50,000 florins as a gift. However, it reluctantly paid 14,000 florins, then reduced its payments to only 10,000, and later to 6,000. Since 1815, it has made no payments at all. In a memorial address directed to the Emperor shortly after the expulsion, the finance-office recounted in detail all the ensuing disadvantages. Since the city did not live up to its promises of payment, and the Theological Faculty declared itself in favor of readmission of the exiles,

negotiations were begun with them. The matter came to nothing, however, because of the excessive sum demanded by the Emperor. Nevertheless, permission was occasionally given to some Jew to visit Vienna, as to Solomon Fränkel for instance, who had come to attend to some financial matters for the great elector.

The Emperor soon discovered that the nobility had left him in the lurch, and that the Christian purveyors did not serve him as well as Oppenheimer. He found himself obliged to make overtures to him, and ultimately granted him the right to settle as near as possible to himself, in Vienna, and become chief purveyor for the Court and the army. Other cities, which closed their doors to Jews, were now also compelled to open them to Oppenheimer and his employees. According to a report of the finance-office the Christian subjects were unwilling to furnish financial assistance; and to prevent utter ruin, recourse had to be had to the Jews. On the margin of this report, the Emperor jotted down these words, "It is indeed to be regretted that I must fall completely into the hands of Jews. I wish this could have been avoided in time. I have no doubt that the ministers will do their utmost to save me from such necessity in the future."

In 1676, Oppenheimer was invited to settle in Vienna. He did so, and received the title of Imperial War-Purveyor. He was at the time forty-six years old and purveyor for the army of Charles of Lorraine, when he invaded France. He had at one time lived in Heidelberg, where he was an army purveyor for



Samuel Oppenheimer

the Elector Palatine. Later, he was also in the service of the Margrave Ludwig of Baden. His wife was from Mannheim and belonged to the Sephardic family Carcassone.

THE TURKISH SIEGE OF 1683

During the Turkish war of 1683, however, the government believed it could dispense with Oppenheimer, as it expected subsidies elsewhere. It unceremoniously closed his office, and threw him as well as his son and his secretary into prison. Oppenheimer's business management also being under suspicion, his accounts were contested. An investigation, however, proved that these were in perfect shape and that the suspicions were groundless. He remained in prison for half a year, and then it was once more discovered that he was indispensable. He was freed and even granted an advance of 300,000 thalers. Margrave Hermann of Baden, for whom Oppenheimer had acted as purveyor for a long time, testified to his honesty and went surety for him.

Another event of the year is worth recording. The University Court was about to punish a number of students for insulting Jews. The Jews themselves, having learned through bitter experience that penalties imposed upon their persecutors recoiled upon themselves, declared themselves in favor of having the punishment suspended.

Jews were to be seen in the parade celebrating the freeing of the city from the Turks, but in all likelihood as caricatures.*

OPPENHEIMER AS MONOPOLIST

Almost immediately after the release of Oppenheimer, his enemies began to conspire against him. But as time went on, all the fiscal transactions and the entire credit of the State came under his control. His purveyances and commercial dealings extended over Austria and Hungary, Germany, and a large part of the Balkans, and, during the War of the Spanish Succession, also to Switzerland and Italy. He had correspondents and representatives in London and Amsterdam as well as in Ofen and Venice. In large measure, he drew upon members of his family for his employees. When we remember that the management of national economy was still in its infancy, Oppenheimer's exploits are all the more remarkable. Travel and the transfer of merchandise involved the greatest difficulties and was further impeded by the unceasing wars, which brought about chaos.

Oppenheimer soon became the Court-purveyor and then the Court-banker. It was difficult alone to supervise the numerous tasks entrusted to him, yet he assumed the responsibility for their fulfillment. Though he could not always provide enough

*In 1688, Leibnitz was in Vienna working at the Court Library to establish the Emperor's rights over the Jews of Frankfort.

money for the needs of his own household, he could raise millions on credit. Ludwig of Baden gave him credit, and Prince Schwarzenberg granted him favors. He redeemed his notes before they were due. The credit of all Austria was dependent upon his own. The Emperor himself prevented his officials from doing anything to hurt Oppenheimer's credit. As a result of his efforts, Austria was able to conduct the most hard-fought wars with an empty treasury. When, as often happened, the Court treasury left him in the lurch, he incurred the anger of the generals in the field.

Oppenheimer worked with other people's money, with that of the Electors of Mayence, Trèves, and Saxony. Yet he had to pay his officials, sub-purveyors and transporters in cash and on time or see his operations come to a halt. Among his officials, Samson Wertheimer alone drew 24,000 thalers annually, besides various rebates. At Oppenheimer's own request, separate commissions audited his various accounts. Again and again it was officially certified that he surpassed all his competitors in efficiency and liberality of terms. Unlike them, he was within everyone's call at any time.

KOLLONITZ

Bishop Kollonitz boasted that in 1670 he had cleansed Vienna of Jews. His chagrin at the growing importance of Oppenheimer may therefore be imagined. Oppenheimer's power was so great that Jews themselves, like Glückel of Hameln and

others, were amazed. Hence it is not surprising that the Christians regarded him with envy. When Kollonitz was called in 1692 to head the imperial treasury, he saw an opportunity to deal the hated Jewish official a decisive blow. Believing that he had found Christian purveyors, he suddenly, without warning, gave notice to Oppenheimer that his contract was at an end, leaving him stranded in the very midst of his deliveries. At the very last moment, the Christian business men failed him and refused to make deliveries except upon cash terms. Kollonitz now feared that he would become a mere subordinate of Oppenheimer and sought a pretense to undermine his power by force. Prince Eugene himself was of the opinion that it was better that Oppenheimer's credit should be impaired than that the Emperor should lose his scepter and crown. A way was sought to wipe out the indebtedness of the State to Oppenheimer or to get him to make deliveries without any financial arrangement. After the victory of Eugene at Zenta, Oppenheimer's services were again dispensed with. Furnished with a false charge by one of Oppenheimer's employees, Kollonitz had the financier and his son Emanuel arrested on the novel crime of plotting to murder Wertheimer because he was a competitor. Even though it was soon apparent that such an accusation was groundless, Oppenheimer had to buy his freedom with 500,000 florins—a sum he was compelled to borrow. Nevertheless, his claims upon the treasury still amounted to 6,000,000, but remained unpaid. He

gradually sank deeper into financial difficulties and told the Emperor he would be ruined unless, like Wertheimer and a rival Christian firm, he also received some money justly due him.

THE ANTI-JEWISH RIOTS OF 1700

The discontent of the upper circles with the alleged usurious practice of Oppenheimer, and the destitution of unpaid officers and soldiers, often without food or clothing, fanned the deep-rooted feeling of the masses against the Jews.

One day in June, in the year 1700, rioting broke out. It started through two chimney-sweeps who were playing a game of draughts in front of the inn, opposite Oppenheimer's house zur Brieftaube, on the Petersplatz. They were under the impression that someone peeped through the window of the house and insulted them. One of them struck his hand against the bench—the usual method of making sport of the Jews—probably in allusion to the knocking sounds they used to make to call people to religious service. The guard stationed outside of Oppenheimer's house was about to punish the chimney-sweeps, when some people on the street came to their rescue. They broke the windows of the house while policemen looked on quietly. The city police considered a private guard as a trespasser encroaching upon their domain and were only too happy to leave him to his own resources. The mob was encouraged to plunder and demolish the house. They destroyed all of Oppenheimer's business records

and correspondence. The members of the household barely managed to escape.

Only after twelve persons were killed and wounded did the city police take a hand. Towards evening there was danger of a repetition of the riot. Cannon were brought up to the demolished house and a strong guard placed there. That very night two leaders of the mob, a chimney-sweep and a sword-cutler, were hanged upon the iron gates of the house. The bodies were allowed to remain there throughout the next day, in order to serve as a warning to the rioters.

In this way, a large part of the state debt to Oppenheimer was liquidated. The consequences, however, reverted upon the State, for Oppenheimer had to pay 3,000,000 thalers at the Leipzig fair and could not obtain the necessary funds. Weighed down by cares, he became ill with pneumonia and died in 1703.

THE BANKRUPTCY

Ludovic, the State Treasurer, who realized that in Vienna matters of the highest importance frequently depended upon the Jews, blamed Oppenheimer's creditors for breaking faith with him. They had made it impossible for him unaided to preserve his name untarnished even though it had been honorably connected with transactions that ran into a huge fortune.

The government then took a most unwise step—it put the estate of Oppenheimer into bankruptcy.

This was virtually a declaration of the bankruptcy of the State. Members of the upper circles, among them Prince Eugene, condemned this action and issued warnings to the Emperor. Many creditors protested against the government's procedure and were sustained by the Elector of Hanover, afterward George I of England, and the Electors of Trèves and the Palatinate, the Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, and other persons of high rank. Only then did the government agree to pay the demands of the Oppenheimer firm. Emanuel Oppenheimer presented the State with a demand of 6,000,000 thalers. A commission was appointed to look into the matter, but it reported that, on the contrary, the firm owed the State over 4,000,000 thalers in taxes. The House of Oppenheimer was thus completely ruined. In 1733, the property left by Emanuel Oppenheimer, who died in 1721, was sold at auction. His widow died several years later, leaving ten florins. The lawsuit against the House of Oppenheimer was not closed till a quarter of a century later.

OPPENHEIMER'S CHARACTER

The reason that Samuel Oppenheimer, who is comparable only to the Fuggers, undertook a ceaseless struggle with numerous difficulties in the face of extreme opposition, and so unceasingly devoted his services to the Emperor, was due neither to a craving for profits nor to the instinct of a gambler, but to that human failing, vanity.

It was a vanity, however, that did not rest upon love for such titles as Chief War-Purveyor, or the like; these titles were of no particular value in the ranks of bourgeois society. Nor was it a vanity that might be satisfied by the conferring of the highest honors—the gift of a gold chain—as was promised to him in 1692. Being a merchant of indomitable will and a man of genial nature and moreover a Jew, he sought the attainment of a position unequaled by any of his fellow coreligionists. His activities bear testimony to the fact that he did not use this position to gratify mere personal ambition, but on the contrary, to afford others the opportunity of participating in his good fortune. By contrast, his enemies present a sorry spectacle. He enjoyed the affection of the great and powerful with whom he associated, because of his impeccability and his purity of character. But it is in keeping with his nature that he frequently declared to his fellow Jews, many of whom he fed and cared for daily, that he, as a Jew, was no better than they. Although he was greatly envied, he displayed such magnanimity of heart as to warrant the reverence in which the Vienna community has held him to this day. His name is the first to be mentioned when the memorial prayer for the dead is recited in the Vienna synagogues. His will showed the noble motives of his life's struggle and labor. He advised his children to be zealous and faithful in the service of the Emperor, and honest in trade and commerce. The fact that he gave such advice in

a will shows that he was motivated by true patriotism and integrity. He held a commanding position at a time of great commotion and stress and exerted his greatest efforts to enable Austria to conduct the decisive wars that settled the fate of Europe for a hundred years. Prince Eugene himself attributed Austria's success to Oppenheimer's activity.

Oppenheimer stands out as the greatest example of the "court Jew," a personage to be found at that time in all the larger and smaller European Courts. Thus, his own coreligionists were his chief competitors and for this reason he undertook complete charge of all the business conducted in the Court of Vienna. Manifestly, it was unbusinesslike to combine purveying, money-lending, and other occupations, for this made simple organization impossible. No one man, even though he had the business acumen of an Oppenheimer and seemed born to direct a variety of undertakings, could supervise so many interests and, at the same time, struggle against obstacles. Some loss in property and prestige was inevitable.

According to Sigmund Mayer, Oppenheimer's chief significance lay in the fact that he developed the international aspect of the banking business of Vienna. He was a pioneer. He was the first to exchange the money of Germany, Amsterdam, and London on the basis of Austrian money, even though he did so only in connection with the Austrian state finances, with the object of facilitating transfers. With the bankruptcy of his firm, such money-

transfers were discontinued, but not for long. The success of his ideas earned for Oppenheimer the reputation of a great financier. Such successors as Samson Wertheimer, who cleverly separated the banking business from purveying, availed themselves of his ideas.

CHAPTER II

SAMSON WERTHEIMER

SAMSON WERTHEIMER of Worms, Oppenheimer's nephew, was the head of his uncle's office in Vienna since 1684. It was understood that under no circumstances would he be compelled to leave Vienna on firm business. He was thus enabled to remain in constant touch with the Court officials. He had free access to the Court, for he was Court-banker-statesman, to whom were sometimes entrusted political missions, such as winning over the Polish throne for Austria. He sought no profit in occasional purveying of agricultural products, and he demanded no exorbitant rate of interest, for his own financial situation was secure by reason of his connection with Oppenheimer; besides he was in a position to lend money of his own. He was especially ingenious in finding new sources of wealth for the Finance Bureau, as he did in the royal salt-monopoly of Siebenburgen. The Emperor recognized his services by granting him, in 1694, a gold chain as an expression of gratitude. His position with the imperial government was made more secure because he was at the same time Court-purveyor for some powerful German princes. On the other hand, his services were all the more valuable to these princes because of his standing at the Imperial Court. Because of the readiness and cheerfulness with which he made

loans, three Emperors and their subordinates borrowed money from him. In 1708 he liquidated his assets, which amounted to 1,150,000 thalers, and wrote to the Emperor that he was retiring from the business in favor of his son Wolf. Nevertheless, he always remained at the service of the Emperor, so that in a few years the treasury owed him 2,000,000 thalers. But he soon withdrew from business altogether. The Wertheimer firm became the chief creditor of the government to the extent of 6,000,000 thalers. His family benefited by his counsel, and in turn was enabled to advise Prince Eugene, the Head Chamberlain Prince Liechtenstein, the English Ambassador, and others of the nobility who frequently sought its aid. Withal, he engaged in numerous activities outside of business. He was Chief Rabbi of Hungary, and the spiritual leader and benefactor of all his coreligionists. In fact he is the representative type of the Viennese rabbi. He encouraged Jewish literature and presented Judaism in a favorable light to the rest of the world. He reflects the glorious life and noble qualities of Samuel ha-Nagid.

RABBI AND COURT BANKER,
SHTADLAN AND MAECENAS

As Rabbi, Samson Wertheimer not only encouraged rabbinic learning, but added to it himself, by scholarly discourses and books. He was above all the central personality around whom Jewish life congregated. The Jews of Hungary named him



Samson Wertheimer

their Chief Rabbi in gratitude for his reestablishment of several communities which had been destroyed, and for his assistance in the building of the synagogue. The Jews of Bohemia, Moravia, and Worms likewise accorded him the same honor. Finally the Emperor raised him to the position of Privileged Rabbi of all the Jews in the Hapsburg dominions.

With the aid of Oppenheimer, he acted for the Jews as *Shtadlan*, that is, as the representative of all the Jews of Germany before the Emperor. He appealed to him to prohibit the publication of Eisenmenger's vicious work *Das Entdeckte Judentum* (*Judaism Uncovered*), which has served to this day as the source book for violent attacks upon Judaism. He pointed out that its publication might lead to a massacre. He advanced the argument that since Jewish literature had already been subjected to censorship to which all books were put, there was no likelihood that it was of a dangerous character, as Eisenmenger charged. To the amazement of all his plea was successful. Within eight days after he delivered his petition, July 21, the very day upon which the House of Oppenheimer was attacked, an imperial edict was issued forbidding the publication of Eisenmenger's book. It was quite a blow to the pride of the Elector Palatine and especially to the King of Prussia, who were indignant when their intervention in favor of the book was disregarded at the request of a Jew. Nevertheless, the prohibition remained in force down to 1741, when Maria Theresa, in accordance with her hostile policy toward the

Jews, gave permission to have it printed. But the lawsuit by the heirs of Eisenmenger, claiming damages from the Jews, was unsuccessful.

Wertheimer was also Chief purveyor for the Electors of Mayence, Trèves, Saxony, and the Palatinate. His extraordinarily influential position in the Imperial Court continued under Leopold's successors, Joseph I and Charles VI, to whom he had rendered important service even before their attainment to power. Prince Eugene refers to his great influence while seeking to collect through him a sum of money, which the Emperor promised to bestow upon the Prince, but the payment of which Wertheimer temporarily delayed, needing the money to conduct the war. Though Wertheimer could not, therefore, at the time accommodate the Prince, he later paid him a larger sum than had been originally promised.

Soon thereafter, Charles, as King of Hungary, named Wertheimer Chief Hungarian Rabbi, and commanded all the officials to look to him for decisions as the highest court in all Jewish lawsuits, and to help in the carrying out of his orders. Wertheimer had a synagogue in his own home, where he preached. Some of his memorial addresses in honor of Jewish scholars are still preserved in manuscript. Since he himself could not attend to every case before him, he appointed some of the most distinguished rabbis to his rabbinical court, who represented him in the various communities under his jurisdiction. He was the financial backer of a new edition of the Talmud and of other scholarly

works. Moreover, he supported Jewish scholars. To this day there exists in Eisenstadt the *Freihaus* (free lodging house) which bears his name, and a synagogue also established by him. In Wertheim, Baden, a monument still stands as a memorial of his benefactions to the cemetery there. The synagogue in Rechnitz likewise records his contributions towards its maintenance. In Worms, the memory of his family endures in the so-called Wertheimerhaus. An endowment by the family and one for Palestine bear his name. In return, the Palestinian community awarded him the title of *Nasi*. Throughout his life he enjoyed the favor of those in power. He had the good will even of the anti-Jewish Emperor Charles and retained it to his death, in 1724. He left a vast fortune, 1,830,660 gulden in real property, a collection of jewels, destined for trade, worth about 20,000 gulden, and bills of exchange and other commercial paper. His liabilities amounted to about 72,000 gulden.

CHAPTER III

DIEGO D'AGUILAR
AND THE SEPHARDIC COMMUNITY
OF VIENNA

DIEGO D'AGUILAR

To the immediate circle of Oppenheimer and Wertheimer belonged, among others, Diego d'Aguilar, and the Arnstein, Eskeles, Michael, Hirschel, Spitz, and Schlesinger families. Diego d'Aguilar is known as the founder of the Spanish community of Vienna in 1733. He probably was the son of a proselyte or of a Marrano who returned to Judaism. In accordance with the law of the time, he faced the penalty of death for having abandoned Christianity. The law had been previously invoked by the Inquisition when it instigated the imperial government to begin proceedings against Teixeira in Hamburg. All the more extraordinary, therefore, was the favor which Diego enjoyed with the Spanish-loving and fanatical anti-Jewish Charles VI. Diego even received a Portuguese barony through the influence of the Court of Vienna. He seems to have won for himself the gratitude of both the Viennese and Portuguese governments, probably because of his tobacco trade. A Jew with a title of nobility must have sounded extraordinary in those days. The only other case of this kind was that of Bassevi of

Prague, who had attained to a title of nobility somewhat earlier. The explanation of the ennoblement of Diego has generally been sought in the probability that his father had been very prominent in the Court of Charles in Spain, who on becoming Emperor in 1703 called on the son for financial support.

Diego is said to have made up his mind to return to Judaism when he was still a child. According to a well-known story he had as Grand Inquisitor unknowingly condemned his own sister to the flames. He learned of the identity of his victim from his mother, but it was then too late to save her. According to another story, Maria Theresa, as a child, accompanied her father on a visit to Diego when he was Grand Inquisitor. She left with him one of her gloves, telling him to produce it whenever he needed her assistance.

We learn from the tombstones that his parents were immigrants from Italy and resided at Vienna, as did also his father-in-law and a child of his own. Since his parents bore the names Abraham and Sarah and no mention is made of the names of their ancestors, it seems that they were proselytes. As they were permitted to live there undisturbed by the Church-controlled authorities it must have been due to some extraordinary reason. The family name was originally Lopez-Pereira (Wolfsohn-Birnbaum) which, in addition to the surname Diego, indicates Portuguese origin. Thus the family seems to have migrated from Portugal to a place in Spain called Aguilar, and to have adopted

its name.* Like many other Marranos, they wandered from there to the north by way of Italy. They were in London, where a son of Diego distinguished himself. The family Disraeli became related to them. In the course of time, Diego migrated from London to Vienna. Empowered by the Portuguese authorities he organized the tobacco monopoly, which is still in existence. That bitter enemy of the Jews, Maria Theresa, spoke of him in the highest terms and in her own handwriting laid stress upon his honesty. His vast business undertakings were proof to her of his great ability, and she admitted her indebtedness to him. For one thing, he obtained the money for her with which she built the castle of Schoenbrunn. In 1723, he was called to Vienna by Charles VI, but his power had showed itself before his arrival. In 1718, he had intervened in favor of the Sephardic community of Temesvar when it was threatened with expulsion at the order of the Austrian army command.

He made a present to this community of a very costly Torah ornament. His action may have been prompted by the fact that the Turkish community of Vienna was an offshoot of the Spanish community of Temesvar. He is celebrated as a Maecenas in other respects as well. The regard in which he was held at the Court of Vienna, as well as in that of the Sultan, stood his coreligionists in good stead when they were in danger of oppression. Disregarding

*It is to be noted, however, that there is a place Pereira d'Agular in the Spanish province of Galicia.

the prohibition of the authorities, he protected transients among the poor Jews and offered them hospitality. When, during the war with Prussia, the Jews of Bohemia and Moravia were accused of treason and threatened with the severest punishment, they turned to him. He took their part energetically, exposing himself to the danger of losing favor with the embittered Empress, particularly on account of the Jews of Prague. In like manner, he defended the severely oppressed communities of Holleschau (1745) and Mährisch-Aussee (1753) before her. In his last years he seems to have removed to England again, where he was active in Austrian political interests.

De Aguilar died in 1759. His departure from Vienna has given rise to a number of tales. It is said that the Spanish government sought to have him extradited because of his relapse into Judaism. According to one variant of the story, he escaped to Amsterdam; according to another, he went to Bucharest or Bohemia. In recent years, people who regard themselves as his descendants have made their appearance in London from various parts of Europe to claim an inheritance which he is supposed to have left there.

THE SEPHARDIC COMMUNITY OF VIENNA

The settlement of de Aguilar and his family in Vienna, which is said to have taken place in 1730, encouraged families from Constantinople to remove to Vienna a few years later, in 1736. In this way a

Sephardic community arose, and continued to grow as a result of the commerce it conducted with the Balkans. To a lesser extent the community expanded by the addition of Sephardic Jews from Amsterdam and Italy, the families of Teixeira de Mattos and Luzatto. Their synagogue, built in the Moorish style and consecrated in 1887, is probably the most beautiful in Vienna. The wealth of the community during its early period is attested to by the beautiful tombstones in the Turkish-Jewish section of the Viennese cemetery. As subjects of the Sultan, they enjoyed a privileged position in Vienna. Consequently, other Vienna Jews sought to obtain a Turkish passport for the privileges it brought. To this day the Sephardic ritual is used in the service, which is partly in Ladino. Ladino was the vernacular of the original settlers, and de Aguilar himself used it in his correspondence. The community organized a separate charitable organization and a cultural society *Esperanza*, which had, among other aims, that of encouraging the use of Ladino. Every year this society used to arrange a gorgeous celebration on the birthday of the Sultan, in the presence of the Turkish ambassador.

CHAPTER IV

LEADING JEWS AND THE JEWISH POLITICAL STATUS

THE CIRCLE OF OPPENHEIMER AND WERTHEIMER

DESPITE his financial calamities, Emanuel Oppenheimer enjoyed the respect which his coreligionists were accustomed to pay to his family. He was certainly worthy of it. He was "the great advocate" in the lawsuit against Samuel Sachsels-Taussk, the Primator of Prague. He and Wertheimer took the part of the Jews of Nikolsburg when, during the plague of 1713, the City Council shut up the ghetto and began an intrigue against Dr. Stella, the Jewish physician. Like his father in 1700, Emanuel was the victim of a riot on January 17, 1706. This time it was the students who instigated it and they were routed by the military forces. Charles VI was the first to make an effort to put an end to these outbreaks.*

COURT JEWS AS LEADERS OF JEWRY

The Court Jews of Austria, her supporters in her most glorious days, made Vienna the center of Jewish activity. In 1669, the Viennese Jews were still appealing to other Jews for help. Thereafter

*See Appendix E, p. 489.

they themselves became the protectors of oppressed Jews and of Jewish communities, so that they began to represent the interests of Jewish life in general. We have seen what success attended the efforts to suppress Eisenmenger's book, *Entdecktes Judentum*. When, in 1744, the Jews were in danger of being expelled from Prague, Wolf Wertheimer, though at the time a resident of Munich, worked together with de Aguilar and other Viennese Jews and put forth every effort to avert the calamity. The Jews of Frankfort and of other communities found in the Viennese Jews effective advocates at the Court and other high places. The Wertheimers, Diego d'Aguilar and others really helped thus to raise the social standing of the Jews everywhere. By the assistance which they gave, they not only furthered general Jewish solidarity, but also laid the foundations of the leadership of Vienna's Jewry.

THE REDUCED STATUS UNDER CHARLES VI

The political status of these wealthy Jews was inferior to that of the Jews of the second ghetto of Vienna. They stood outside the law and depended completely upon the favor of the Emperor. This favor could be retained only upon cash payment.

Repeatedly the Viennese burghers, both because of prejudice and business competition, demanded the expulsion of the "vermin." A deputation of the Tradesmen's Guild thus referred to the Jews at an audience with the Emperor in 1712. Charles VI's attitude toward the Jews is manifest by his threat

to expel them, during the Easter of 1715, because of a ritual-murder accusation. Such threats were pretenses frequently used to extract money from them.

Owing to the intercession of Samson Wertheimer, Jews other than members of the families of Oppenheimer and Wertheimer were granted the privilege of living in Vienna. But their residence was limited to ten years, and they were asked to make a loan of 100,000 florins to the treasury or to pay a larger sum in taxes than they had ever done before. Only the head of the family was permitted to carry on trade. Money transactions and wholesale trade were forbidden. Each family had to deal directly with the government; the Jews were not allowed to act as a community. They were allowed to pray together as a congregation only on certain occasions, and then very quietly. All families, with the exception of the Oppenheimers and the Wertheimers, were to live in one house in so far as possible. The six families who received this edict of toleration in 1716 were Brüll, Gomperz, Hirschel, Michael, Schlesinger, and Spitz. They and their relatives mentioned in the decree were lodged in 1723 in a single house intended for forty-eight tenants. Those who were neither "privileged" nor "tolerated" were expelled.

The personal regulations of the Emperor himself made the lot of the Jews, already completely without rights, even more difficult. Whenever they left the house on business, they had to be accompanied by a guard, for whose services they had to pay. With

this shamefully earned money, the Emperor planned to make a journey to Prague. But since some of the Jews had to accompany the Emperor as his financial agents, he deemed it inadvisable to offend them; in fact, for financial and political reasons he had to humor them instead, and he withdrew the restriction upon their movements. As the Court saw it, the Jews would at any rate soon be forced to leave Vienna. Again an agreement was reached fixing the sum of money that the Jews were to pay. At all costs, the Emperor refused to permit the Jewish community to have "too many people." The Jews had to promise not to harbor coreligionists under the guise of employees in their household. The Turkish Jews were not bound by these restrictions. By article XI of the Peace Treaty of Passarowitz, all the subjects of the Sultan, Jews included, were granted liberty of residence in the provinces of the Emperor. When, later in 1843, they utilized the influence of the Turkish ambassador to obtain from Metternich the right to purchase a plot of ground for the building of a synagogue, they immediately obtained their request. The situation was in sharp contrast with that of the native Viennese Jews, who had to struggle for similar permission over a period of many years.

CHAPTER V

MARIA THERESA (1740-1780)

THE spirit which animated Charles VI's successor, Maria Theresa, appears clearly in her statement that "she knew no worse plague for the State than this nation, because of its deceitfulness, its usury, its ability to drag people down to beggary, and its use of every type of evil method from which an honorable man would shrink." Personal hatred for the Jews replaced the policy dictated purely by financial gain and made their painful lot worse. The outspoken aim of her policy toward the Jews was to rid Vienna of them; but to achieve this by legislation. She regarded the year 1551, when Ferdinand first instituted the yellow badge, as the year when the legal expulsion of the Jews had really begun. The city had in 1753 only 452 Jews in a population of 175,403. Because of the more sanitary manner of living prevailing among the Jews, their mortality was about half that of their Christian neighbors, 18.9% as against 33%.

Again and again the Empress took personal charge of the situation by making regulations of her own. She was impatient with the slow progress of the efforts in eliminating the Jews. She issued a regulation of Jewish affairs in 1753, and another nine years later with more effective provisions, by which further grants of toleration were forbidden. The privileges whose terms expired were not to be

renewed except for "weighty reasons," and even then not for the life of the "tolerated Jew," but for five or ten years. She wrote in 1777 that Jews were "in so far as possible to be kept away from here and to be diminished in numbers." And what were these "weighty reasons" for which the Jews might be tolerated in Vienna? The Jew had to prove that he possessed property, that he would be useful to the State, especially in industry, and that he would pay an annual "toleration tax." By 1753 toleration was granted only to the head of the family and was limited to his wife, dependent children, and indispensable servants. Every three months the head of a household had to present a list of all its members except those of his immediate family circle. Beginning with 1764, the name of even wife and children had to be noted down. The Empress herself examined these lists. "I want to see those lists again," she once wrote to the police. She reserved for personal decision the question of permitting an increase of Jews by immigration. When a marriage was about to take place, the news had to be announced to the authorities and a three-fold tax paid.

Every quarter the police inspected Jewish households to ascertain the duties assigned to the servants. Those who had no personal rights of residence in Vienna were not allowed to have their wives and children with them. According to a regulation of 1764, the number of Jewish male employees, even in business, was limited to six. The reason for this was, as the Empress wrote, that for a long time now

the Jews "had served no useful purpose to the Court;" i. e. they had not been able to pay their toleration tax. She therefore found their continued residence in the city unnecessary. In 1777, the twenty-five tolerated families could not even raise the sum of 6,865 florins demanded of them as toleration tax. The total number of Jews was meanwhile reduced from 594 in 1767 to 550 in 1781. This reduced group included those permitted to live in Vienna because of the tobacco lease or because of other functions serviceable and useful to the State. But the toleration was abandoned even in spite of weighty reasons. The Empress finally made up her mind "annually to decrease the number of Jews resident here, in view of the fact that they bring the State more harm than good." With the exception of Turkish Jews, who continued to enjoy rights of residence and freedom of worship, and also of the Jews from Trieste, foreign Jews had to pay a head-tax of two florins daily on market days, and one florin on other days.

SOCIAL REGULATIONS

Unremittingly the Empress forged ahead in her aim to separate the residences of Jews and Christians. A new ghetto was suggested in Leopoldstadt; but she found some objection to the proposal. Another suggestion was to build a separate Jewish city, a *Judenstadt*, but it was feared that the expense would be too great. Finally, Franz Anton von Sonnenfels, alias Perlin Lipmann, or, as he was also known,

Alois Wiener von Sonnenfels, declared himself ready to rent his house to Jewish families who were to be segregated.

The only Jews permitted to live among Christians were the citizens of Turkey, Görz, and Trieste, as well as the Court-Purveyor Wetzlar of Frankfort on the Main. Arnstein received permission to live where he wished only after he threatened to emigrate. Foreign Jews found refuge in the house known as Zum weissen Stern in the Sterngasse, which belonged to Sonnenfels. Other Jews seeking homes were permitted to do so wherever they could find a welcome. Legally, moreover, it was permitted to charge them a rental 30% higher than that asked of Christians. Naturally, many Jews found such rent beyond their means.

ECONOMIC RESTRICTIONS

How did the Viennese Jews earn their livelihood? According to the regulations of 1753, only the head of the family could be engaged in a gainful occupation. His choice of business was limited to money-changing, general financial operations, and trade in jewels. That such occupation netted very little is evident from the limitation of the rate of interest to 4%, and the prohibition against making "loans upon houses, landed estates, and vineyards." Not only were the Jews forbidden to acquire real property, but the Empress personally went to the trouble of supervising the enforcement of this restriction. Money-changing brought little emolument to the

Jews, since the market of Vienna did not make much use of bills of exchange, and where it did it was in those business activities from which the Jews were excluded. That the Jews would succeed in the jewel trade was equally unlikely, for they were forbidden to set jewels or to sell them on credit. Besides, being restricted from selling any other kind of merchandise, they could not exchange the jewels for other commodities. The slightest infringement of these draconian regulations was punished with the withdrawal of toleration. It was only natural, therefore, for the Jews to deteriorate economically to such an extent that in 1762 the Court Treasury declared that outside of Arnstein, Eskeles, and Leidesdorfer, there were only impoverished Jews. In the same year the Empress found herself compelled to grant them the right to trade in home products, and to set up factories—with the proviso that only Christians might be hired.

The Empress left nothing undone to achieve the social degradation of the Jews. A Jew had to keep out of sight when a religious procession passed by; according to a regulation of 1764, even when sacred objects were carried, as when a priest was on his way to the bedside of a dying man. The same regulation forbade the Jew to show himself on the street before noon on Sundays and holidays; this was two hours later than he was permitted to appear in the regulations of 1733. For easier identification as Jews, married men and widowers were obliged by law to let their beards grow. Jews and Christians called for their correspondence at different places.

RELIGIOUS RESTRICTIONS

The pious Maria Theresa tried to hamper the Jews also in the conduct of their religious services. Worse than the Russian Czar, Vienna of that day prohibited the building of a synagogue or the setting aside of any place for conducting a public service. But the opportunity to create out of the Jewish impulse to worship God another source of income for the State proved too tempting. It was arranged, therefore, that the Jews should pay twenty-four florins for permission to conduct a service in a private residence, and fifty florins if this service included reading from the Torah. The pious proviso was added that under no circumstances must the service "cause the slightest inconvenience to Christians." Yet at the time Prague had an officially recognized Jewish community, and there were altogether fifty-two Jewish communities in Moravia.

CHAPTER VI

JOSEPH II (1780-1790)

THE inhumanity and harshness of the Empress, who was filled with a burning hatred for the Jews, was a sort of madness. It is little wonder that her son Joseph brought about a legal revolution in the treatment of the Jews as well as in other matters.

TOLERATION

It was not till 1848 that the country realized its indebtedness to Joseph in the cause of freedom. His name was at that time on everyone's lips, and the services he rendered his Fatherland were to leave an indelible mark upon Austrian affairs. He had read Locke and the other staunch advocates of religious liberty. It was the age when Lessing taught toleration in his *Nathan the Wise*, the drama of which Goethe said: "May the feelings of tolerance and mercy preached therein ever remain holy and dear to the nation." It was about that time that War-Councilor Dohm came forward with his striking proposal for "the Civil Improvement of the Jews." Possibly even earlier J. von Keppler of Vienna wrote, "One must give the Jews such liberties as will enable them to gain the rights of human beings, and they will become what they should be." Even a German prince offered reasons why the Jews

should be tolerated in Christian countries. Clergymen of all denominations were present at the dedication of the synagogue at Seesen, in Braunschweig. But that was a rare occurrence. It remained for Joseph himself, "the Humanitarian upon the Throne," author of the noble saying, "I love humanity without limitations," to be the first to pay serious attention to toleration and to grant religious freedom to the Jews, just as he granted freedom to the peasant from personal bondage to his master and freedom of conscience to non-Catholic Christians. His actions accorded with the dictates of his own noble soul, and did not conflict with his outspoken German sympathies. With amazing audacity he wrote to his fanatical mother in 1777 that her zeal in persecution would result in the loss of many valuable communities, depopulating and devastating her country, rather than in the redemption of human souls. "Why should a ruler desire to order about the conscience of his subjects," he asked, "so long as they do their duty toward him and give honor to God?"

ORIGIN OF THE PLAN FOR THE PATENT OF TOLERATION

Having such a liberal point of view, he could not but welcome the anonymous petition, clearly outlining the barbarities of the anti-Jewish legislation then in force, handed him one day by Gunther, his

secretary, who was on intimate terms with the Eskeles family. In fact, when the Emperor on his visit to Galicia observed in what poor circumstances the large number of Jews were, he decided that something must be done for them, even if only in the interest of the State. He was certain that they could be made into highly useful subjects as consumers, if not as producers.

Shortly before her death, Maria Theresa gave vent to the animus against the Jews which characterized her personal policy and which betrayed her medieval cast of mind, when she said that she was anxious "to establish some other limitations upon Jewry." But as soon as Joseph ascended the throne, he set aside the entire system of anti-Jewish legislation. He recognized that it was the fault of the government rather than of the Jews that they were, as the Empress had frequently urged, of very little value to the State. The government, by limiting their economic possibilities, itself had reduced their social value to a minimum. In his letter to the Chief Chancellor of the Court, on May 13, 1781, he stated that his plan was, "to make the limbs of the Jewish nation more useful to and usable by the State" than they had been under the previous system. A new era had arrived in the history of the Jews of Vienna: the head of the State was criticizing not only the far-reaching limitations put upon them in earning a livelihood, but even their exclusion from the sources of "enlightenment."

JOSEPH AND HIS MOTHER'S POLICY

Soon it became evident that Joseph would proceed further than merely indulge in verbal criticism of his mother's policy. On October 1, 1781, fourteen hundred and seventy years after the Edict of Toleration was issued by the Roman government for the Christians under its domain, Joseph, presumably the successor of Constantine I, ordered his government to draw up a charter that would mark a break with the system of intolerance toward non-Christians. He regarded the Jew as a human being having the same spiritual and moral predispositions as Christians had. While he assumed that on the whole Jews were prone to deceit and dishonest business methods, he attributed this tendency to the economic necessities to which they were subjected, to the hostile legislation directed against them and, above all, to the falseness of their religion. "A neophyte, well-informed about the Jewish faith," who had shown the Emperor "excerpts from the Talmud, the prayers, and the law books," had convinced him that the chief trouble with the Jews lay in their religion as taught them by their rabbis. The Emperor came to believe that they had implanted in the minds of their followers ideas which were harmful to human society. Indeed, so fantastic were the representations about the Talmud made to the Emperor, that he considered the advisability of appointing a commission to investigate and purify it. In any event, a new decree in 1785 expressed his point of view as follows: "In

order that the Jews who believe in stupid exorcisms of the devil and in all manner of similar follies, may at least not continue to persist in such nonsense through new writings and, thereby, face a postponement of education and enlightenment or suffer a loss thereof altogether, all books containing such false matter, whether they be written in the vernacular or Yiddish or Hebrew, are hereby forbidden to be published under the government seal of approval."

The name of the man who defamed the prayer book before the Emperor is unknown. What is remarkable, however, is that Sonnenfels, who was proud of the title, "the Viennese Lessing," and who took part in drawing up the "Patent of Toleration," did not enlighten the Emperor. The reason may be that he had no profound knowledge of the fundamentals of the Jewish religion. Nor could Moses Mendelssohn have been called upon to correct the Emperor, for he did not have the influence upon him that Sonnenfels did. In fact, Joseph regarded Mendelssohn as a "naturalist," that is, really an atheist. The Emperor had even once said, "My Jews shall never become naturalists." And he disapproved of the work on the Bible undertaken by Mendelssohn and his circle. Fessler, the Lemberg Professor of Theology, during an audience given by the Emperor at the capital of Galicia, urged him in the interest of the Jews to permit the printing of Mendelssohn's commentary instead of Rashi's, to accompany the biblical text. Joseph refused, not only because of dislike for Mendelssohn, but also

out of reverence for such an ancient work as the Rashi commentary. At the same time this conversation with Fessler confirmed the Emperor in the erroneous ideas about the Jewish religion he had imbibed from the unknown neophyte.

JOSEPH'S RESTRICTIONS

Thus it is possible to explain Joseph's prejudices against the rabbis and, in large measure, also his refusal to permit the appointment of a rabbi in Vienna. He was equally averse to the establishment of a Jewish community and a public service. In this respect the Jews were no worse off than the Protestants, to whom similar rights were refused in the Patent of Toleration granted them on October 13, 1781. The Catholic Church alone was to be dominant. Had Joseph permitted the organization of a Jewish community, he would have been compelled to consent to the appointment of rabbis. But that was precisely what he wanted to avoid, since he knew from his experiences in Galicia that rabbis might influence the community against schools conducted in the vernacular or the pursuit of secular studies, and that they might succeed in keeping the Jews in the condition of political inferiority from which he wanted to rescue them. He really at heart had no hatred of Judaism. This is evident from his frequent assertions that he never sought to interfere with the worship and faith of the Jews. His frame of mind is indicated by the strict instructions given to the teachers at the

gymnasia that they must persuade their pupils to cultivate friendly relations with their Jewish fellow-students. It is further indicated by his discouraging attitude toward the conversionist zeal of some Christian circles. Quite obviously, Joseph's work was far from thorough. Very likely G. V. Pfeffel had him in mind when he wrote in his poem *Die Toleranz* (Toleration): "A prince who does not persecute is not yet for that reason a God on earth. He is merely not a tyrant." Nevertheless, it is unjust to accuse Joseph of wanting to Germanize the Jews and destroy Judaism.

CHAPTER VII

THE PATENT OF TOLERATION

THE NEW EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

IN order to modernize the Jews and to enable them to enter into intellectual relations with their fellow-citizens, one Patent of Toleration opened the educational institutions of the State to all denominations. Everywhere normal schools were opened in which were taught elementary subjects, particularly the German language. German was to become the State language, and Hungarians, Lombards, Bohemians, and Walloons were bound by this provision. Instruction in German was not superfluous, even in Vienna. Pure High German was not unintelligible to the Viennese, but those who spoke it were even treated as foreigners. In view of the fact that special books had to be prepared for the instruction of Jewish children, the Jews everywhere, even in Vienna, were advised to establish normal schools of their own.

Joseph granted the Jews the right to engage in manual labor and the arts. The one limitation he placed upon this right was to bar them from the rights of burghers and masters, who formed an integral part of the city and the guilds. But wherever a city granted them rights of citizenship, Joseph confirmed them. In vain the ministers raised objections to the liberalism of the Emperor, maintaining for example that Jewish apprentices would not be

engaged by Christian workmen, or that a Jewish coachman might be tempted to enter upon smuggling. To do away with the humiliating position of the Jews, all statutory restrictions were removed which concerned dress and freedom of movement, and tended to lower the Jews in the eyes of the general population.

THE CONDITIONS OF TOLERATION

Complete equality with the Christians, however, was granted only to a few Jews, "the Imperial and Royal Privileged Merchants." The "privilege" was extended to them only if they could satisfactorily show that they were worth at least 30,000 florins. It was suggested that this sum be reduced to 10,000 florins, because the Jews showed marked ability for engaging in wholesale trade and displayed great skill in attracting foreign capital. The only reason that the reduction was not made was that "the Jews might not be favored above the Christians." It was likewise recognized that because of their inventive ingenuity, they were particularly adept in industry, an occupation which had already been permitted them sometime before. They were granted the right to employ Jewish workers as well as Christians and to engage in agriculture, but only upon land taken in lease, for they still were not permitted to acquire land for any purpose whatever. They could purchase the right to reside in Vienna only upon the payment of a toleration tax; nevertheless, when one whose father had obtained tolerance married, he did not have to go through

the formality of acquiring toleration for himself, but merely to pay the tax. The Emperor reserved for personal decision only the granting of toleration to foreigners—in this he was less strict than his mother, who scrutinized every application.

In memory of Joseph's work of reform, a medal was struck, on the reverse side of which are shown representatives of the three religions. To be sure, his reforms did not aim at the complete emancipation of the Jew. Yet, for the time being, it was enough that it represented a break with the type of legislation which, especially in the days of Maria Theresa, was based on anti-Jewish "principles" of politics—consciously aiming at the elimination of the Jews from society, if not through bloody destruction, then by means no less terrible. Thus Joseph's policy was based upon more than charity; it was grounded in common sense and ordinary humanity. It drew the Jews into coöperation with the aims of the State and placed them upon an equal footing with the rest of the citizens. That is the reason why this Patent of Toleration proved to be a turning point not only in the history of the Jews, but in that of Austria and of civilization. Austria first set out upon the new path; America and France followed.

EFFECTS OF THE PATENT

Apart from the really important and direct advantages which this Patent brought to the Jews, the spirit which animated it and the manner in which it was put into practice was of the greatest significance.

The example of the Court and the circles around it used to offer the strongest encouragement to the middle and lower classes of Vienna society in their hostility toward the Jews. Since Joseph's actions represented a thorough break with the entire official attitude toward Judaism, it is no wonder that some of the magistrates and officers, brought up under the old system, protested against the enforcement of the Patent. To be sure, their objections were moderated by fear of the Emperor; nevertheless they emphasized the view that Austria was Catholic, and that the Patent of Toleration worked harm to the Church.

On the other hand, many officials soon began to show themselves "ripe for Joseph." Von Riegger of Bohemia upheld toleration as in accordance with the Christian religion. "How can Christ, who never wanted to rule or to govern, desire any fixed form of rule or government?" "Christianity itself," he went on to say, "is pure tolerance, a combination of the love of man with the love of God. Remove from it this merit and it ceases to be the divine religion established by its divine Founder." Even the reaction that set in after the Emperor's death could not stamp out the new views. They came to life again in 1848. Moreover, they spread beyond the borders of Austria. The shameful head-tax on Jews was discontinued in France in 1784. German princes such as the Grand Duke of Baden and the Elector of Mayence emulated Joseph. The signs reading, "Jews excluded," were removed from the inns in Bavaria. A man who used the signature

"Protestant of Saxony" outlined a complete campaign against the intolerance of Christians in an article which was later translated in the annual *Bikkure ha-Ittim* for 1823.

Joseph was the first truly liberal monarch, one of the noblest men who ever lived. He may well be classed among the greatest humanitarians in the history of human progress. For he dared to carry into practice what up to his time had been a subject for theoretical discussion confined only to a few bold spirits and never extended beyond acknowledging the recognition of Jewish equality. He believed in Man, and saw him in the Jew,—a product "of that unfortunate people" as he characterized them. A pronouncement of his Chancellery in 1782 read as follows: "As soon as the Jews are freed from the yoke of the old servitude which now clings to them, and are placed, as is very fortunately now being done, upon a footing of equality with the Christians in trade, in education and in language, and as soon as human freedom is granted them as human beings, we may hope to see them better citizens."*

*This hope was soon to be realized. When, in the pre-March days of 1848, the Jews of Vienna presented a petition to Emperor Francis for the extension of their rights and improvement in their conditions of living, they could well point to the regulations of the Patent of Toleration as "educational statutes," and rightfully maintain that they had been a credit to this "education" since "no tolerated Jew had shown himself unworthy of his toleration." Years later, when Austria was torn asunder by the rival nationalistic movements on the part of Germans, Czechs, Poles, Italians and others, the Jews showed themselves to be the only loyal Austrians. They have suffered most from the collapse of the Hapsburg empire.

OPPONENTS OF THE PATENT

As was to have been expected, the bold step of the Emperor also aroused opposition among other numerous enemies of the Jews. Since Joseph II had moderated the censorship, they unloosed a flood of pamphlets within the next year or two. The authors avoided the consequences of governmental displeasure by hiding under a pseudonym. Thus protected, they could safely enter the arena with their violent diatribes. Over a hundred articles and pamphlets dealt with the Jewish question. The titles of many of them indicate the nature of the contents. Some of these titles are: *Thirty Pieces of Silver; The Jew Who Was Paid Twice Thirty Percent on the Backside*, by Ambrose M.; *A Sermon about Toleration and How to Conduct Oneself toward a Jew on the Occasion of the Robbing of a Church by a Jewish Gang of Thieves, Written by a Bohemian pastor* (1784); *About the Uselessness and Harmfulness of the Jews in the Kingdom of Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria*, by J. Klinger (1782); *About the Harmful Influence upon the State and the Ruination of the Burghers Caused by the Unlimited Freedom of Trade Granted the Jews*, by Cobalt; *Two Writings of a Jewish Philosopher to an Apologist Who Preaches Tolerance in Honor of the Synagogue; Rabbinism, or a Collection of Talmudic Follies*, by Christian E. Wunsch (1789); *The Jewish Party-Man, or An Answer to the Israelitish Apostolic Author of the*

Pamphlet about the Jews and Their Tolerance (1781), by A. Zitte; *Be Happy, Dear Jews, a Happy Event Is About to Reach You, or A Brief Investigation of the Question Whether the Jews Are to Be Admitted to Manual Labor* (1782). On the other hand, the reception of the Patent on the part of the progressive and the freedom-loving people was enthusiastic. It was especially so among the leading circles of German literary men. Klopstock dedicated an ode to the occasion.

In later days, so extraordinary an event as the granting of a Patent of Toleration to the Jews was still considered quite inexplicable except on the assumption that important ministers had been corrupted by Jewish money. According to an old anecdote current in Bohemia, the Council of State, under the presidency of Maria Theresa, was at one time about to consider the expulsion of the Jews because of a treasonable understanding they were alleged to have had with Frederick II of Prussia. A Jew, the story continues, gave five ducats to the valet of Count Kolowrat, the Minister, who was opposed to the Jews, as a bribe to obtain an audience with his master for the Jew. The minister granted the audience on condition that the Jew should not say more than one word. The Jew consented and when Kolowrat asked him what he wanted, his answer was "Silence." Kolowrat understood and held his silence at the conference, while Kaunitz pleaded in favor of the Jews and was successful.

Around this anecdote, the beloved dramatist, Anton Langer, constructed a one-act skit entitled, *A Word to the Minister*. In doing so, however, he changed the scene from the Ministerial Council Chamber of Maria Theresa to that of Joseph II, represented the Jew by Solomon Oppenheimer and made Prince Kaunitz the one to maintain silence in favor of the Jews.

CHAPTER VIII

THE JEWS AND THE PATENT

THE QUARREL ABOUT WESSELY

GREAT as were the differences of opinion which the Patent of Toleration aroused among the Gentiles, even greater were the dissensions among the Jews themselves. Of course most of the Viennese Jews greeted the Patent with joy, as may be seen from an anonymous sketch, *Some Family Scenes among the Jews at the Reading of the Patent of Freedom Which We Jews Have Received in the Imperial Lands*, Arenhof, 1782. It was written by Benedict Arnstein, with whom we shall deal later. Nor was Vienna the only place where joy prevailed; the community of Turin also celebrated the occasion of the Patent. Jewish communities in sections of Italy under Austrian rule which had long enjoyed the advantages of general education, hailed the imperial announcement about the schools with delight. Prague opened a secular school, and at its dedication the orthodox Ezekiel Landau, the Chief Rabbi, read a Hebrew prayer in rhyme.

All too soon, however, the matter became the subject of heated discussion, and Landau also changed his attitude. It became obvious that large numbers of Jews were viewing the innovations with distrust; even Mendelssohn suspected that it was merely a political and financial maneuver on

the part of the Emperor. Acquainted as he was with the attitude toward the Jews prevalent among the Christians, he doubted the sincerity of the motives that called for such a radical transformation in the treatment of his fellow-Jews, even though he was thankful for the result. He knew these "enlightened" reformers from personal experience. For had not the "liberal" Frederick the Great granted toleration to the Jewish philosopher only upon the plea of Marquis d'Argens, and had he not limited that toleration only to Mendelssohn's lifetime? As we have seen, Joseph II also did not show himself as tolerant as true liberalism would have demanded. The fact was that while he granted freedom, he insisted upon the establishment of schools; that while he permitted public worship, he prohibited the use of Hebrew and Judeo-German in important legal documents. It is a well known fact that most Jews regard it as sinful to use a foreign language for such documents, and improper to occupy one's self with any but Hebrew religious literature. No wonder the suspicion became strengthened that Joseph II aimed "to make Christians of the Jews."

The dispute began with an article favoring the Normal Schools written by Herz Wessely, a Hebrew author who had until then enjoyed the respect of the Jews in all walks of life. He belonged to the circle of Moses Mendelssohn, and like his Master looked to the time when the Jews would avail themselves of the products of modern culture, while

clinging fast to Jewish traditional life. He celebrated the freedom granted by the Emperor in an enthusiastic hymn.

Wessely's object was to allay the suspicion prevailing against the schools. He published his Hebrew article *Dibre Shalom ve-Emet* (Words of Peace and Truth) several months after the publication of the Patent. This article has been regarded as the starting point of Neo-Hebrew literature. But that was hardly what Wessely had in mind; his purpose was to justify the Emperor in decreeing that moral instruction be given in the Normal Schools along with secular studies. It was proper, he held, that the fundamental principles of human conduct precede the instruction these schools offered. Such had been the program in the traditional curriculum of Jewish schools in the past, though the sufferings endured by the Jewish people have caused this fact to be forgotten. Nor should secular studies be ignored. Hebrew grammar and the vernacular were even at the time universally studied among the Jews except in Germany and Poland, where the Bible itself was neglected. The result was that the Jews there spoke German incorrectly and had an improper and defective knowledge of Hebrew. To be sure, "Torah" was studied, yet the children could not recite the Ten Commandments by heart. The Jew ought to acquire a general education, he maintained, if not to win the respect of others, at least to overcome prejudice and have a means whereby to earn his livelihood. Moreover, History, Geography,

Natural History and other subjects were indispensable for the correct understanding of the Bible. These sciences destroyed superstition, and clarified such biblical precepts as the dietary laws.

At once Ezekiel Landau accused Wessely of placing morals above the Torah and of being, therefore, an atheist and a supporter of the ungodly. In Frankfort, the matter led to a law-suit, and the rabbi, Phinehas Hurwitz, joined the Gaon of Wilna and the zealous Rabbi Tevele of Lissa in denouncing Wessely and his work as heretical. They especially resented the statement that the Polish teachers were responsible for inefficient methods of instruction and for the misuse of the German language in the German communities. Wessely wrote several letters in reply to defend himself. He cites the story in the Midrash about Adam's studying Zoölogy, and mentions the musical accomplishments of Tubal-Cain, Saul, and David, as told in the Bible. The rabbis of Trieste, Ferrara, Venice, Ancona, and Görz, came to his defense. But it was all in vain. The rabbis of Lissa and Glogau asked their colleague of Berlin to have Wessely exiled from the city. But Mendelssohn interceded for him with the Prussian Minister of Worship, who read Wessely's pamphlet in the translation by David Friedlander. The attack upon Wessely was frustrated above all through the intercession of Daniel Itzig, the president of the Berlin Jewish Community, whose daughters were destined to play such a prominent rôle in Vienna.

REVIEW OF THE DECADE OF JOSEPH II (1780-90)

Mendelssohn's words in bitter reproach of the enemies of the Jews, "they bind our hands and then blame us for not using them," do not apply to Joseph II. With utmost good-will he set about the task of completely removing the legal limitations upon the rights of the Jews. Yet, to do so without interfering with their religious views or wounding their sensibilities, was a herculean task. His official acts show that he really entertained no animosity toward the Jews. When he sought to put Jewish marriage and divorce under the jurisdiction of the State, it was because distrust of rabbinic practices had made the Jews themselves appeal to the secular authorities for relief. Moreover, his attitude in this matter produced no visible disadvantages for the Jews. A few years later the Government even specifically permitted the performance of marriages among the Jews in accordance with their own laws, but under State supervision. If the need for raising the moral tone of the Jewish community was repeatedly emphasized, it was because the seventy-two families of "tolerated" Jews frequently complained of the business tactics of their illegally domiciled coreligionists. Their own business methods and personal life were above reproach and never gave the authorities cause for complaint. Official circles admitted that the Vienna Jews were very useful to the State.

The tolerated Jews remained under the jurisdiction of the sympathetic Commissioner for the Jews

of Lower Austria, who left them practically undisturbed. The rest of the Jews, however, were placed under the surveillance of the police, who performed this duty even more strictly than did the official formerly appointed by the anti-Jewish City administration. Eventually, the duties of the government commissioner were to some extent connected with those of the Vienna police, and the entire administration of Jewish affairs thus fell into their hands. That is how the notorious "Jewish Bureau" (*Judenamt*) came into being in 1793.

This decade, during which the internal policies of the Empire were directed in a spirit of humanity, was the one bright spot in the history of the Austrian Jews from the time of the Babenberg Frederick II to the later years of Francis Joseph I. A number of memorials and inscriptions of this period attest to the gratitude of the Jews to Joseph.

It has been humorously remarked that Joseph's legislation became virtually a dead letter and had no other result than to raise one Jew to a barony. The fact, however, is that it has since from time to time, in periods of intolerance, awakened the Austrian conscience and made Joseph's name a battle-cry.

BOOK IV—THE PERIOD BEFORE THE MARCH REVOLUTION

CHAPTER I

THE ERA OF RENEWED RESTRICTIONS

LEOPOLD II

AFTER Joseph II, came the brief interlude of Leopold II, and then Francis, whose very name stands for reaction;—after a promising spring, a sunless, benumbing winter.

The two years' reign of Leopold (1790–1792) scarcely calls for comment. To his credit it may be said that he was not quite ready to heed the clamors of many government officials who wanted to destroy all of Joseph's reforms as quickly as possible. However, Leopold strove to be fair to the Jews, but the government officials stood in the way. Still, he managed to better conditions somewhat. He reduced the amount of money it was necessary to have to stay in Vienna or to obtain toleration, from 10,000 to 8,000 gulden. He asked besides for a reliable testimonial of moral character. On occasions he granted the right to stay in Vienna for good "pertinent reasons."

The motives which animated the government appear from a regulation issued about the dress of

the Galician Jews, a number of whom were in Vienna. After forbidding them to wear the long, loose, outer garments, Leopold again permitted them to do so only because he feared that, otherwise, many machines would remain idle and thousands of weavers would be thrown out of work. Yet he believed that the Jews concealed stolen goods under the folds of their garments—a belief which had led the magnanimous Joseph II to bar such apparel.

THE REIGN OF FRANCIS (1792-1835)

Francis, successor to Leopold, reminds one of the bishop in Ibsen's *The Pretenders*. He left a permanent blight upon Austria and contributed to her downfall. His treatment of the Jews of Vienna was based on the assumption that they were completely without rights. His purpose, on the one hand, was to use them as much as possible for the pecuniary benefit of the State, and on the other, to intimidate them and drive them to distraction. The numerous draconian police regulations governing the Jews were brutal and petty, prompted by a cowardly spirit. The enactments must have seemed incomprehensible even to anti-Semites in other countries. The events in Austria would have more than furnished material for a tale of deep-dyed villainy; they formed a record of cold-blooded acts of terror, committed without plan or purpose, and without the excuse of being prompted by wild passions.

Although the authorities sought to abolish Joseph II's reforms, they nevertheless continued to avail

themselves of every concession to intolerance he made in his Patent of Toleration. Gradually the government rescinded whatever rights the Jews had gained. Francis had no interest in the welfare of his subjects. He thought them only of importance in so far as they were able to pay taxes and provide recruits. He also had a faculty of appointing the wrong people to office. One appointee, General Mack, whom the Jews nicknamed *Mackes* (plague), was particularly hated, for he brought misfortune upon everyone. Whenever the anger of the nation was aroused against Francis by the unavoidably evil consequences of his ill-advised measures, he blamed the Jews. When the crops failed in 1805, he issued an order prohibiting the lending of money on grain and forbade the Jews to engage in the corn trade. If money lost its value, he made the Jew the scape-goat. He eventually had the toleration tax for the Jews raised. In the year 1809, the most glorious year of Austria, when even foreign nations expressed admiration for the elevated position attained by the old imperial State, he granted the Catholic clergy important powers over non-Catholics. Yet, when he needed a lottery loan in 1810, he resorted to the Jewish banker Arnstein. He passed a legal measure for calling in silver, a process which his subjects openly designated as theft. And yet, in a document based on official reports, the Jewish bankers were blamed for the misfortune in the State's finances. As a matter of fact, the State itself was at fault for the financial operations that brought profit to the governing group and the speculators, and these

included very few Jews if any. Yet Baron von Stein, relying upon a false document, attributed the bankruptcy of the State in 1811 to the property-owners and large capitalists, but principally to Jewish bankers. It was they, he said, who prevented the bankers in London and Amsterdam from offering assistance. The fact is, Emperor Francis was the cause of the State bankruptcy and he profited most by it.

In 1817, another document blamed the "corn-Jews," that is the Jews who loaned money on grain, for the reduced circumstances of the upper and middle classes. Yet, about the same time, in 1818, the highly respected Jewish banking firm of Uffenheim, like others, closed its doors. Nevertheless, as often as need arose, the government looked to the Jews for assistance. Fearing a revolution in 1830, it bought silver bars to the value of twelve million from four privileged banking firms, among them those of Rothschild and Arnstein.

From the outset, Francis tried to put the Jews off with promises. As early as 1790, during the absence of his father, he decreed that the Jews who lived in Vienna or migrated there should not be disturbed when they had paid their toleration tax and had legally proved that they had an occupation and possessed the necessary property, or could in some other way justify their right to remain. A remark he made in Prague, some years later, that he would like to see removed whatever legal limitations still separated the Jews from complete equality, was encouraging to the Jews of Vienna. They took

it up immediately and asked their own legal representatives, as well as others, to make overtures to him to inaugurate a movement toward emancipation.

THE REPRESENTATIVES

The representatives came into existence in an unforeseen manner before Francis had ascended to the throne. The Jews had been ordered to build a hospital, but a number of the tolerated Jews had refused to contribute their share toward the expense. A petition signed by fourteen Jews was drawn up in which they stated the dilemma. To be able to carry out the orders of the authorities, they asked that a governmental decree give them the right to choose a deputation who should have authority over the tolerated Jews and yet be responsible to the government for the entire community. The government approved of the idea and a permanent committee of representatives came into being. At first it consisted of five members and later of three, elected for a term of six years. One member was to retire every year, and another elected annually.

During the reign of Francis, in 1793 and again in 1796, the organization presented a petition asking for the abrogation of discriminatory laws against the Jews. After setting forth their grievances, they asked for instructions from the authorities about their duties towards them. In answer to this, they were peremptorily told their duty was to execute the orders of the government. Only two of their requests were granted in full—one for protection for

manufacturers and those devoted to agriculture from annoyance by competitors, and the other for the restriction of immigration of foreign Jews. The government also agreed to drop the use of the term "Jew" in a humiliating or derogatory sense from official documents and public bureaus, but determined to establish a separate Jewish bureau.

In its replies to the various reforms sought, the authorities gave explanations for their refusals to comply or lame apologies for continuing the old order, or altogether denied the existence of the abuse complained of. They curtly refused to consider the request for making the taxes on Jewish weddings the same as those on Christian marriages, for dispensing with the presence of a Commissioner of Police at these weddings and for the right to have the certificates of marriage recited in Hebrew. The suggestion that the government consult with the representatives before making regulations affecting the Jews, was not only refused, but characterized by one official as "an outgrowth of impudence."

Among the alleviations sought that were rejected were: the abolition of the *Bollete*-tax, which the representatives maintained was really a personal tax and illegal under the Patent of Toleration, but which the government said served merely to pay the officials of the Jewish Bureau; the right to own real estate, which was limited by the authorities only for the purposes of manufacturing and only while the factory was in operation; and the right to hold official positions in the State, which was disallowed on the ground that the Jewish religion does

not permit Jews to perform their duties efficiently, and because of the probability that the government might be swamped with Jewish office-holders.

To the request that Jewish physicians and lawyers who had graduated from a university in the Empire be employed by the charity offices, the government replied that these institutions were privately supported and hence not under its jurisdiction.

These refusals proved to be merely a prologue to stringent measures against the Jews. In 1802, they were robbed at one blow of the most primitive human rights. Even the redresses given in answer to their petition were withdrawn. In fact, one could no longer speak of Viennese Jews as such. A Jew seeking to engage in business in Vienna had to acquire a domicile in another community to be sure of a permanent home. For to live in Vienna was never obtainable as a right. At best, it could be granted only as a favor.

THE TOLERATED JEWS

Whereas before 1795 toleration had been granted for life, thereafter it could be obtained for a period of no more than three years, and then had to be applied for anew. Acquiring toleration depended upon the practice of a skilled trade. The moment the Jew ceased to be a craftsman, he had to leave Vienna and return to his home-town. Beginning with 1807, toleration was extended only to individuals and did not include members of one's family; and after 1817, even the widow and orphans of a

craftsman had to leave Vienna, unless she continued her husband's business. Grown-up sons did not participate in the toleration extended to their parents, and had to engage in an occupation on their own account to receive toleration. As early as 1808, the children of tolerated Jews were not allowed to marry in Vienna, so that, in this respect, they had less rights than the Jews in the rest of Austria. Again and again, the Emperor, worthy grandson of Maria Theresa, sharply reminded his officials that the number of Jews in Vienna must not be allowed to increase. He even answered any suggestion by a sympathetic official for more favorable treatment of the Jews, by increasing the harshness of the existing regulations. When Count Dietrichstein, at the head of the administrative office of Lower Austria, pointed out that everywhere in Europe, including Prussia after 1812, the chains of intolerance had been broken, and implied that so degrading a thing as the toleration tax should be discontinued, especially since it brought but a small income to the State, the Emperor increased the tax by raising it to fifty percent of the income tax.

Beginning with 1821, toleration was limited only to those merchants who possessed exceptional qualifications. A few years later even such privileged persons were denied the right of residence on the basis of their services only.

The Jewish head-tax had also been restored after the death of Joseph II and was now called *Bolle-tengebühr*. The income from this went to support the Jewish Bureau in the police department. Until

1807, it amounted to one florin daily for native Jews and two florins for foreign Jews. It then was increased four to eightfold in order to make it cover the entire administrative expense of the police. The situation of the Jews in Vienna was so desperate that a Prussian Jew in an article in the *Breslauer Zeitung* of August 19, 1820, called on the German princes to intervene in behalf of their Jewish subjects, just as the Sultan had done. He pointed out that the Turkish Jews were free of the tax, "because the Sultan threatened to treat the Austrian Christians in the same way." Metternich was certainly less liberal than the Sultan of Turkey, yet he once said that the Orient began with the Rennweg, referring to one of the roads leading eastward from Vienna. But Austria was far worse than the Balkans; it was the China of Europe. It must not be supposed, however, that the Jews of Vienna accepted all this degradation and draining of their life's blood in silence, even though they well knew that every time they complained they brought upon themselves harsher treatment. In 1813, they addressed a petition to the Emperor which is truly pathetic. "It is deplorable that despite all the remarkable achievements of the tolerated Jews of this City," they wrote, "despite their hearty and active participation in the destiny of Vienna and of the Fatherland, despite the heavy sacrifices which they have so often and so willingly made in exemplary fashion, their children receive no consideration. Indeed they are in a position inferior to that of Jewish children in the provinces, even to that of

children of foreign Jews in Vienna. They are denied the rights of marriage and of the company of their parents. The All-Merciful knows what power is required to control the tormenting feelings in our hearts, in the presence of our wives and mothers who have been robbed of the very joy of living because of the fate of their children. Yet these young people have given clear proof, during all the recent wars, of pure patriotism and an unswerving loyalty to the Throne and to the Fatherland."

CHAPTER II

THE VIENNESE JEWS AS SOLDIERS

It was really true that the Jews of Vienna had made great sacrifices in life and property during the numerous wars waged by Austria about the turn of the nineteenth century and the decade which followed. "It seemed," said Fontane, "as if the Jews had promised themselves to make an end of their old notions about their dislike for war and inability to engage in it." The American Jews had set them an example during the War of Independence; the Jews of Holland and France had followed; towards the end of the eighteenth century, Jewish soldiers appeared in the Austrian army. According to the regulation of Joseph II in 1788, the Jews also were subject to military service. Although the tolerated Jews of Vienna were freed from conscription because of their social status, some of them joined the army as volunteers.

JEWS AS OFFICERS

In general, entry into military service and advancement was not difficult for the Jews even under Emperor Francis. Under the Archduke Charles, the victor of Aspern, it was decided to omit the designation of one's religion from military passports.

In 1815, the Imperial War Council said that "promising young people of the Israelite nation, insofar as they are not subject to military conscription and are otherwise acceptable, may be enrolled as cadets or volunteers. Their advancement in rank depends only upon the need for officers, since, according to the humane foundations of the Austrian Government, religion makes no difference in this case and many Jews have already become Officers and State Officers in the Imperial and Royal Army."*

During the Passover of 1817, sixty-eight Jewish soldiers were guests of families in Vienna. According to a report of 1821, the Jews had contributed 35,000 recruits to the recent wars. A Christian Lieutenant Field-Marshal said of them: "In all my years of service, I have never seen an Israelite officer who did not ably fill his position. They combine a great deal of knowledge and much zeal with the highest sense of duty, which leads them to self-sacrifice when facing the enemy."

While we are not concerned with baptized Jews, who frequently rose to very high positions in the military service, we cannot pass them over in absolute silence, if only because of the current popularity of pseudo-sciences in which race and blood are made such great factors. We may well say that soldiers of our race, even though they left us, sacrificed Jewish blood in Austrian wars.

Frederick Homberg deserves particular mention among the converted Jews, if not for his own sake,

*See Appendix F, p. 491.

at least because of his father, Herz Homberg. In 1806, at the age of sixteen, he joined the army in Vienna, giving his father's occupation as "State official." He rose to the position of Lieutenant-Colonel, and received the highest Papal Order.*

Ernst Semler, likewise baptized, the son of a director of the Vienna *Hebrah Kaddisha*, joined the artillery in 1829 at the age of thirteen. During the campaign of 1848-9, he was awarded a silver medal for bravery and the ranks of Lieutenant and First Lieutenant. He also participated in the campaign of 1859.

Ignaz Wetzlar von Plankenstern, one of the children of a notorious convert, participated in the campaign of 1813, received the Order of Maria Theresa, a most unusual decoration, and was later promoted to a captaincy.

Gustav von Heine-Geldern, the brother of Heinrich Heine, enrolled in 1829 in the cavalry and attained to the rank of First Lieutenant.

THE NEGLECT OF JEWISH VETERANS

The Emperor Francis, who concealed his malevolence by hiding behind Metternich, would not permit even the crippled and the invalided Jewish soldiers to engage in any middle-class occupation or to hold any office. He did award certificates of praise to some Jewish military and civil physicians who volun-

*See Appendix G, p. 492.

teered at the call of the government to serve in the cholera-ridden districts of Galicia and Moravia, and provisionally appointed them to city and district positions. But when the plague was over and they presented the bills for the stipulated payment, he paid none of them. From 1816 to 1848, not one Jew of the eastern army was promoted.

As a matter of fact, the position of an Austrian officer was so poorly paid that only patriotic motives led Jews to seek it.

JEW AS PATRIOTS

The authorities and the newspapers highly lauded the Jews of Vienna because they gave money freely for the necessities of war. Ignaz Joseph Wertheim's engraving, "Rivalry of Vienna Jewry to Support the General Call upon Honest Austrians on April 14, 1797," represented this spirit. In 1813, the firm Arnstein and Eskeles set aside 155,000 florins for patriotic purposes, while the wives of both leading members of the firm contributed generously. Such contributions must have been made without any ulterior motive, for a Jewess in Austria could not, at the time, look forward to any distinction. The men, however, when unusually deserving, were recognized. Soldiers received civil medals. Marcus Leidesdorfer was raised to the nobility for his excellent organization of the field-hospitals. The Arnsteins were always in the vanguard of opposition to Napoleon. They were the first to lend

financial support to the uprising of the Tyroleans in 1809. They frequently entertained Speckbacher, the noted hero of this uprising, as their guest. When Napoleon entered Vienna, he made the Jews pay dearly for their patriotism; he imposed a contribution of 60,000 florins upon them.

CHAPTER III

JEWISH TAXES

IN 1808, the regular taxes were borne by 119 tolerated Jews, constituting 89 families with 305 children and 409 employees both domestic and business. The taxes were divided into toleration-taxes, class-taxes, commercial taxes and wine-taxes on the sale of *Kasher* wine. There was, moreover, protection-money which had to be sent to Bohemia and Moravia for the continuation of the rights granted by those provinces to Jews who lived in Vienna. The hospital tax, for the support of the Jewish hospital, amounted to about 46,000 florins. Then came the war taxes.

In 1793, every unmarried Jew disqualified for military service had to pay 140 florins for his freedom. The Jewish community in general had to pay taxes for those who were without means. In 1808, the community had to contribute 3,600 florins toward the establishment of the Home Guard. In 1809, they were compelled to furnish ten recruits and they also equipped them; in addition, they voluntarily supplied and supported twenty-five to thirty Jews for fortification work. In 1810, the Jews of Vienna were forced to turn over to the government the silver ornaments used in connection with the religious service to meet the wants of the State and to redeem bad paper money. They had to do this

in spite of the fact that they were not permitted to have public religious services. The chief use made of the Jewish Representatives was to maintain a steady flow of taxes into the treasury.

THE BOLLETE

There was a large number of Jews in Vienna about whom the police were supposed to know nothing, dead souls, so to speak. Alive for all other purposes, they were dead for purposes of taxation-lists. Why this game of hide and seek? It was not that they were unwilling to pay taxes; the Vienna police could have collected them. Nor did these Jewish merchants seek to remain unknown and to conduct their affairs secretly, for they were of the highest respectability. They were highly esteemed by their competitors and there is no trace of prejudice against them because of competition. They were as well thought of as Jews had been during long periods in the Middle Ages as long as no scheming propaganda was on foot. Moreover, had these Jewish business men not been firmly established, the police would immediately have expelled them from the city. The reason for their being freed from the payment of taxes was their importance. They represented an army of productive power without which the economic life of Vienna would have broken down; nevertheless, the majority of those in possession of this power had not the legal right to reside in Vienna.

THE PRIVILEGE OF RESIDENCE

Samson Wertheimer was able to obtain the exceptional privilege of extending his right of residence to 141 persons for a definite period. Government protection (*Regierungsschutz*), that is the right to live in Vienna, was given also to wholesale merchants or those who had the privilege of establishing a factory and possessors of a considerable capital. Those who did not belong to these classes associated themselves, as a matter of form, with men who had gained the privilege of toleration because they were of some service to the State or had the right to be at the head of a business firm. Thus, a tolerated person who had no means would have his name on the shingle as the head of the firm and thus lend protection to the real owner. In fact, his name might appear on many firm-shingles. The father of Adolph Sonnenthal used this method of maintaining his right to stay in Vienna. It might very well happen that such a tolerated Jew might misuse the protection which he offered, and, by calling in the police, get rid of the real owner of the business and take it over for himself.

Another method of acquiring residence was to have oneself appointed director of an agency or of a factory. Under the name of agent, one could conduct whatever business one pleased. Still others succeeded in obtaining a Turkish passport. Thus, in 1846, no less than fifteen "false Turks" were free from the legal limitations which existed for other Jews.

greatest hour of need, and he attached no conditions to the very large sum he lent. At the age of forty-three, he volunteered for military service. In 1811, he was ennobled and granted perpetual toleration in Vienna, where he now made his home. During the War of Liberation he was appointed a quartermaster by the Commander-in-Chief. He was also confidential agent for the Cardinal of Olmütz, brother of the Emperor. He always devoted his services to his coreligionists in Bohemia and in Saxony, where he obtained the abolition of the Jewish body-tax. The Lâmel synagogue in Jerusalem was founded in his memory by his daughter, Elise Herz.

Auspitz of Brünn (the first Jew permitted to be buried there) represented the Jews of Moravia. While he himself may not be counted among the Jews of Vienna, his descendants have been identified with it. Among them are the families Auspitz, Gomperz and Liebe. But, with some few noted exceptions, their relations with the Jews were rather distant. Their scientific and social achievements, nevertheless, do honor to the Jewish name.

HOW THE JEWS WERE CHEATED OF THEIR RIGHTS

On April 11, 1815, Arnstein, Eskeles, Herz, Simon von Lâmel and Auspitz handed a petition to Prince Metternich asking him to improve the condition of the Jews. It was similar to the petition of the Vienna Representatives in 1813, to which it made reference. It mentioned the Emperor's promise in

1797 to place Jews and Christians upon an equal footing. Like the petition of 1813, it asked that this promise be fulfilled.

The Jews were confronted with a serious situation. There were diplomats who were friendly when they visited Arnstein's home, but at the Congress were opponents of Jewish emancipation. Indeed, certain Jewish circles were themselves opposed to emancipation because they feared that it might weaken traditional Judaism.

Nothing reveals the attitude towards the Jews of most of the German States more clearly than the general laughter which greeted the presentation of the Jewish question at the Congress of Vienna for the first time. Humboldt was outraged by such conduct. Even as children, he and his brother Alexander had been considered defenders of Judaism. He wrote to his wife, whose bias against the Jews he well knew, that he had at various times thought deeply on the question and remained steadfast in his belief in emancipation. He also realized that if other States continued to discriminate against the Jews, large numbers would migrate to Prussia, where since 1812 Jews were enjoying practically all rights.

Soon rumors began to fly about that now one, now another of the delegates to the Congress had been bribed by the Jews. As a natural consequence, such rumors stiffened the opposition. For if they were true, those who received no bribe sought revenge for having been overlooked; and on the other hand, some saw in the situation an additional

excuse for furthering their government's stand as well as their own in opposition to emancipation. In brief, although Prussia actively took the side of the Jews and Metternich also stood by them, it soon became clear that general sentiment was against them. Such was the information given to Baruch, a representative of the Frankfort Jews, a relative of Arnstein, and the father of Ludwig Börne.

At first, Prussia and Austria proposed the following article: "Members of the Jewish faith shall remain in enjoyment of the rights gained by them until now, and are herewith declared capable of attaining civil rights in so far as they submit to the performance of all the duties of citizens." Instead of adopting it, the opposition at the Congress succeeded by various kinds of subterfuge to have this article of the *Act of Confederation* state that the Congress of the Confederation, to be called later, would consider the Jewish question. The new Congress, the article said, "will take under advisement how the widest possible agreement may be attained to achieve the civic improvement of those who profess the Jewish faith in Germany, and in particular how they may acquire and be assured of the enjoyment of civic rights in exchange for the assumption of all civic duties. Nevertheless, those who profess this faith shall continue to enjoy, until then, whatever rights have been granted them by the individual States of the Confederation." A loophole was thus left open whereby the governments might deprive their Jewish subjects of the rights which had been granted them by the French,

that is not *by the governments* which the French had displaced and which were later restored. Thus the Jews were deprived of their rights in Saxe-Weimar, the home of Goethe, who was himself an opponent of Jewish emancipation. For, just as Bismarck of a later day could not shake off the anti-Jewish point of view of a Prussian Junker, Goethe could not rid himself of the anti-Jewish feelings of a Frankfort patrician. They might honor Judaism as the creator of the Bible, and respect individual Jews for their personalities, yet they found the idea of Jewish equality in a Christian State, insupportable. Yet, the action of the Congress resulted in one advantage to the Jews of Vienna; they could now point to article 16 as against the reactionary tendencies of the Emperor, and demand that they be permitted to enjoy whatever rights had been granted them by the Austrian government.

Ironically enough it was an English-born Jew, Sigmund Wolffsohn, who built the *Apolloaal* where the Congress met. Like so many others, Jews and Gentiles, he was ruined by the bankruptcy of the State in 1816.

CHAPTER V

THE TEMPLE

ON THE WAY TO A REPRESENTATIVE FORM OF WORSHIP

THE social recognition gained by a few Jews stood out in marked contrast to the disdain in which they were held under the law. The government treated them like criminals—men without legal status. An individual here and there might be regarded by the authorities with every mark of respect as being a man useful to the State, but as a Jew he remained unhonored and without rights. Judaism brand-marked a man.

It was soon realized that esteem for the individual accompanied by indulgence for him on account of his race, was virtually an insult to his self-respect. The favorable treatment of some Jews brought out in greater relief the injustice to the majority of them. It became apparent that the first condition for improvement in their legal status was to show the Gentiles on what a high plane Judaism really stood. As long as the religion of the Jews was not recognized as the equal of other religions, its adherents would appear as morally tainted. Moreover, to permit erroneous notions of Judaism to prevail might even result in the withdrawal of what little legislation favorable to the Jews already existed. What the Jews wanted, in the words of Gabriel

Riesser, was: "Not civil emancipation through the emancipation from Judaism; but a Judaism which calls for respect within and without."

To show Judaism in its true light, a public institution where the Jews might openly worship was necessary. A religious school in which books were approved by the authorities as the basis of instruction, had to be founded. And, finally, a religious community had to be organized in which the humane spirit of Judaism might be carried out in charitable institutions of a truly social nature. If one obtained recognition of Judaism and its traditions from the State, one would have some assurance that the religion would continue. For, there would then be some hope that loyalty of Jewish children to their people would not demand from them as great sacrifices as those demanded of their fathers. A number of prominent Jews felt that the task of rehabilitating Judaism devolved upon them because of their personal influence.

BIEDERMANN AND HOFMANN

M. L. Biedermann was one of the men ready to offer his services. A son of poor parents, he had come to Vienna from Pressburg at the age of fifteen. Here he became an engraver, receiving two prizes for his work. He was soon employed by the Court, and in 1792 was granted toleration. After a year as a jeweler, he entered the woolen business. When the value of the banknote fell, he found it necessary, in order to recoup his losses, to become an exporter

of woollens. He did so well that he sold to an English firm goods valued at 60,000 pounds. The government appointed him as its representative in a case involving counterfeit bank-notes in northern Germany. He redeemed the bank-notes with his own money although he had been referred to the government of Prague. In 1808, he became Imperial and Royal Wholesale Merchant. In 1817, at the time of the famine, he loaned the government, without interest, money for the purchase of cereals for the poor. Likewise, without any interest, he loaned the Emperor 300,000 florins for State purposes. In 1830, he was appointed court-jeweler. From 1806, practically uninterruptedly down to his death in 1843, he was one of the Jewish Representatives. He was instrumental in the building of the first Jewish temple in Vienna.

Löw Hofmann bravely and loyally worked together with him. He too came of a poor immigrant family which had gone from Bavaria into Bohemia. At the age of thirteen he went to Prague to study Talmud. Later, he became the manager of a tobacco business and moved with his employer to Vienna. Subsequently, he conducted the firm under his own name. He was granted toleration in 1788, and soon was appointed a member of a committee of business-men to greet Emperor Leopold II at his accession as he passed through the Arch of Triumph. He was put into the category of wholesale-merchant and later made commissioner of inventories and appraisals. In 1806, he was chosen Representative, and in 1820 district-director, for the poor of his community. He

freed Austria from dependence upon Italy for silk by cultivating it at home. For this purpose, he was permitted to acquire a landed-estate in Lower Austria. He received gold medals in Vienna and Pest expositions for his excellent cloth. He also helped in the development of the manufacture of potash. Emperor Ferdinand bestowed a hereditary nobility upon him and presented him with a diamond ring bearing the royal monogram. From Ezekiel Landau he received the title of honor *Haber* and from Marcus Benedikt, the title *Morenu*. He died at the age of ninety, in 1849. Hugo von Hofmannsthal, the noted poet, was a grandson of his.

THE WORKINGS OF THE COMMUNAL ORGANIZATION

In view of the fact that comparatively few participated in the voting for the College of Representatives, the government threatened to appoint the Representatives itself. Their power and influence had increased in the meantime, for they were consulted with regard to every petition addressed by a Jew to the authorities. Their income was derived from the ritually slaughtered meat and from voluntary gifts. Soon thereafter they established a direct tax, the so-called *Büchelgeld*, which every one of the tolerated Jews, of whom there were 123, paid. This tax has varied in amount, but from 1843 on it has been from twelve to thirty-six florins.

The employees of this effective though unofficial community were fixed by law in 1814, and consisted

of the following: an actuary, a physician, a surgeon, five hospital attendants, a supervisor of *kasher* meat—really the rabbi, who as such was not allowed to reside in Vienna—five persons for the provision of meat, two teachers, an assistant teacher, a cantor, a woman supervisor for the bathhouse, a messenger, and five grave-diggers.

In 1827, the community was freed from the necessity of giving financial reports to the government. It was officially ruled that the community was a private institution.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EMANCIPATION

The petitions of the Jews against the Pharaonic tyranny in which Francis held them was a hopeless fight against windmills. In 1816, they set forth their grievances before the Emperor. They said that the State proper was not affected whether its citizens accepted the New Testament or the Old Testament for their guide. Its one concern should be that they accept the State's religion, namely the civil code. Yet some of the Jews who had lived in the country from time immemorial, spoke its language as their mother tongue, resided in the country and served it without any external ties whatever, were hedged in by barriers of State legislation and separated from their fellow-citizens, only because of a difference in faith. Foreigners could become naturalized after fifteen years' residence; a Jew was always considered a foreigner. If any of the accusations made against the Jew had a basis in fact, they

were a result of this very segregation. Where discrimination had been removed, statistics showed no greater proportion of Jewish criminals than of Christian.

In the thirty years since the Patent of Toleration, the petition continued, the Jews had taken part in all the arts and had in general shown themselves worthy of the liberties granted them. The extension of these made by Emperor Francis himself at the beginning of his reign had been highly beneficial, for during the wars the Jews by the thousands showed themselves ready to follow the call of the fatherland, and at least equaled if not surpassed the Christians in loyalty and bravery. A complete legal equalization would remove all traces of an artificial distinction. They believed that the Emperor was motivated by the same hopes which he expressed in 1797 on granting some new rights to the Jews of Bohemia, when he said that he desired "to bring them ever closer to full rights of citizenship in order that the law might be able eventually to remove the last differences between the Jews and others." During the nineteen years of probation which had elapsed since then, the Bohemian Jews engaged in agriculture, manual labor, manufacture and trade, concerned themselves with spiritual and moral education, and distinguished themselves in patriotism. And since peace now reigned in the country, the petitioners hoped for the fulfillment by the Emperor of his publicly announced promises, especially since the most important foreign States had since carried out the resolutions of the Congress of Vienna with

regard to Jewish equality—resolutions which also were applicable to Austria. It depended upon the Emperor alone whether or not half a million of his subjects, now considered helots and worse, should be freed from their bitter lot; whether they would be granted equality or be excluded from most means of earning a livelihood while they bore the heaviest burdens of the State. How bitter it was to fight for a fatherland which refused to grant the right of residence to those who had become invalids! How sad it was to be taxed because of loyalty to the faith of one's fathers; to be excluded from the right of possessing property and to be limited only to the uncertain channels of trade! How unjust it was for thousands upon thousands to be legally condemned to begging and haggling, to ignorance and dirt, and then to have this sad plight made an excuse for pointing an accusing finger against all Jewry, and making them all suffer for it!

The petition brought no results. Nevertheless, the government felt its honor at stake before the foreign countries. Only a year previous, the government of lower Austria had itself resented the efforts made to deprive the Jews of the right to lend money on mortgages, and rebuked the High Chancellor, saying that to enact such antiquated laws would make all Europe look down upon Austria, since most of the States, instead of restricting existing rights, had continued to grant the Jews new liberties. It urged the granting to the Jews of the full right to own landed property. It said that it was more fitting to remove the "heavy oppression under which

this unfortunate part of humanity has ever been condemned to live," than to heap reproaches upon the victims. Thus it seems that the spirit of Joseph had not altogether died out in Austria! The members of the so-called "Constitutional Party," including men like Grillparzer, Bauernfeld, Lenau, and Grün, which fostered the movement toward German freedom and had in 1819 begun the agitation for a greater Austria, were animated by the spirit of tolerance. But of what use was their manly and just stand before government officials whose views dated from 1764—thick-headed men who had come to the world half a century too late and yet found themselves in positions of power?

Finally, in 1820, the government thought it time to bring clarity and order in the mazes of Jewish legislation, in which even the most efficient officials could not find their way. It asked the Representatives to present a summary of their grievances. In reply they pointed out the crass contradictions in the legislation affecting the Jews, and alluded to the false promises by which they had been deceived. The contentions of the Representatives were unimpeachable. The Body Tax which had been legally discontinued in 1782, in reality still prevailed. In 1795, only tolerated Jews were permitted to become wholesale merchants, while in 1807, conversely, only wholesale merchants with property valued at 60,000 florins were permitted to become tolerated Jews. In the Patent of Toleration, Jews were permitted to have as many Christian servants as they needed, but, in 1818, an ordinance of 1725 was renewed in

Moravia, according to which they were not allowed to have any. There were numerous examples of this sort of contradiction.

The most deserving Jews were treated worse than criminals. Only one son of a tolerated Jew was allowed to inherit the right to toleration, and even he had to prove that when he died his wife would have the right to live somewhere in the provinces. The right of toleration was not extended to the family. When children of a tolerated Jew reached their majority, they had to leave Vienna and wander about like vagabonds.

Once more a request was made of the Representatives in 1821 to indicate by which legal limitations the Jews felt themselves particularly oppressed. Ignoring the malicious mockery of this request, the Jews in their answer pointed out that since 1795 they had received toleration only for comparatively short periods at a time. These privileges, they said, were frequently rescinded, ostensibly to make it possible to remove a violator of the laws from Vienna, "without robbing him of any right." They held that there was no justification for such a procedure, since during the past twenty-six years there had not been a single complaint against the Jews for breach of the laws, while the position of every tolerated Jew, his spirit of enterprise and his credit, were in constant danger because of the uncertainty of his situation.

Instead of taking these suggestions into consideration, the government made the existing legislation more stringent!

THE BUILDING OF THE FIRST TEMPLE

How then did the Jews succeed in acquiring an appropriate house of worship?

In 1810, the Jews of Vienna organized a celebration in honor of the physician in charge of their hospital. While expressing his gratitude for the honor, he ventured the suggestion that a fund ought to be raised for such chronic cases as could not be treated in the hospital. Among those present was Councilor La Rose, Director of the Jewish Bureau. He was, in every respect, a patron of the Jews, for his office afforded him sufficient opportunity to become acquainted with their forlorn condition. He saw matters as they really were. He seized upon the doctor's suggestion and immediately started a collection. The tolerated Jews present responded with liberal donations. Father Hartmann, the chief chaplain of the army, who was at the celebration, contributed the sum of fifty florins. Within three months La Rose collected about 52,300 florins from native and foreign Jews in Vienna.

It then occurred to the Representatives Biedermann and Hofmann to use the money collected for the invalids for the purchase of a building which could be used both as a home for them as well as for a respectable house of prayer, such as did not yet exist. These Representatives also hoped to establish a religious school there and to install a ritual bath. La Rose obtained permission from the Emperor to purchase a building, and the firm in

which Biedermann was a partner contributed to make up the deficit.

That a fitting temple was necessary is clear from the unsanitary conditions of the place which had until then served as a synagogue. "It is impossible," said the Representatives, "to step into this dark, moist, underground room, which looks more like a prison than a house of God, without a feeling of disgust and horror." Nor was this to be the last time in Vienna that the language of Patriarch Jacob could be used about a synagogue, "How awful is this place; this can only be a house of God."

Yet some orthodox Jews as well as some assimilationists disapproved of the temple. This is apparent from a comment of the Representatives in their call of 1811. "While the orthodox Jew avoids a clean, roomy and respectable prayer-house," they said, "out of fear lest the discarding of the shell might result in the destruction of the kernel, the liberal expresses his concern lest the establishment of such an institution lead to separation between Jew and Christian, and to the establishment of the so-called Community (*Kehilah*) in the Capital City of Vienna." Thus, one encounters the astonishing fact that some Viennese Jews approved of the hitherto existing regulations against the establishment of a community center. And yet they might have known that by this prohibition the government meant to refuse recognition to Judaism as a religion.

The Representatives sought to offend neither of the two extremes, the objecting orthodox and the frank liberals. They purchased a building and

erected the temple on the site where it still stands in the Seitenstettengasse. They raised the purchase price of 900,000 florins through contributions and gifts. The consecration of the synagogue auditorium was celebrated as unobtrusively as possible. When the Emperor returned from the war of 1814, the temple was beautifully illuminated during the general celebration and the event perpetuated in a bronze tablet. At a thanksgiving service, Moscheles, the composer for the Court Theater, a friend of Beethoven, and subsequently conductor of the concert orchestra in London, conducted a symphony he himself had composed. In 1815, the Emperor's two brothers inspected the building and the various institutions connected with it.

In order that the temple might have better support, all private synagogues were officially prohibited in 1817. Among these was the one usually regarded as the oldest in Vienna. At that time it was said to be over one hundred years old; it must therefore have been founded by a member of the Wertheimer family before the year 1717. The closing of all these synagogues, however, resulted in the overcrowding of the new one, and since an extension of it was impossible, it already became necessary to think of erecting a second building.

In the meantime, the efforts of the Jews of Germany to reform the divine service had borne fruit, particularly in Berlin and Hamburg, and now found an echo in the circle of the tolerated Jews of Vienna. This group, therefore, wanted to establish a second synagogue with a reformed service, German prayers,

and an organ. They turned to the government for permission. The answer was a personal note of the Emperor to the Chancellery, saying that he was not at all in sympathy with the new project. After making some hypocritical pretensions against the "isolation" of the Jews, he approved of some of the innovations sought by the Reformers. He moreover laid down the regulation that every prospective candidate for the rabbinate should pass an examination not only in the teachings of Judaism but also in philosophy and general knowledge. He preferred that the prayers should be said in the vernacular if there were no scruples against it, and that Jews should send their children to study secular subjects in Christian schools. It is clear that this last suggestion corresponded to the wishes of many of the tolerated Jews of the day much more closely than Joseph II's request that the Jews organize normal schools at their own expense. As to the requirement that rabbis should have training in general culture, that is still legally demanded in Austria, and to this day candidates for the rabbinate are required to present a certificate indicating the completion of a high school course. In practice, however, the Austrian administration still uses the term "dispensations." Thus, for example, in Bohemia, it was possible to appoint "dispensation rabbis" who had neither a rabbinic nor a secular diploma.

The government then put a long list of questions to the Representatives relating to the details of the new form of worship. The Representatives therefore

felt free, in their answer in 1821, to designate those features of the Reform movement authorized by the Emperor as "a work of general usefulness ordered by the All-Highest." Their object was to prevent a public hearing so that no objections of a religious nature might be raised by one or another side within the Jewish community. In their answer to the government, they signified their willingness to turn over to this project only the surplus from the administration of the existing synagogue. They said that only twenty-eight persons had declared themselves ready to make contributions of about 60,000 florins. At that time, there were only 110 tolerated Jews in Vienna, numbering 500 souls, many of whom had been impoverished by the economic depression.

The problem was solved in a most unexpected fashion. It was discovered that the house in which the prayer-hall was located had been constructed of very poor material and was therefore in danger of collapsing. Hence it had to be torn down, and in its place the desired reform synagogue was erected. The architect was Kornhäusel, a master of the Empire style. At the dedication of the new synagogue on April 9, 1826, Mannheimer preached, and the gifted Cantor, Sulzer, who worked with him, arranged the musical part of the program with the assistance of Drechsler the composer, a non-Jew.

In this roundabout fashion, by way of a home for invalids, the Jews of Vienna managed to obtain a synagogue which had until then been legally prohibited. Similarly the nucleus of a communal

organization came into existence three decades before, through a hospital building, and functioned in fact if not by right.

THE RULES OF THE SYNAGOGUE

It took three years after the opening of the temple for the community to formulate its by-laws and to have them signed by practically all the members of the synagogue organization. The preamble of these by-laws stated that the underlying purpose of the congregation was to conduct a service in accordance with the progress in education among the Jews. "The bonds of unity and concord have grown more attractive . . . The well-intentioned members earnestly sought a quick remedy of the situation for the sake of the youth . . . As in various other German communities, a form of worship has been established in Vienna which stands under the supervision and administration of delegates and representatives, like any of the other communal institutions housed in the same building." Four men who were to be named by the Representatives for a period of three years, but who might be reappointed at the end of that time, were put in charge of the synagogue. They took turns in administering its affairs, each one having the responsibility for a month. In all matters relating to the liturgy, they had to consult with the "religious teacher," the title then borne by the preacher, that is, Mannheimer. The religious teacher had to have secular culture, especially in philosophy, and a wide knowledge of theology, including the Bible and its commentaries, had to be

an efficient speaker and of good moral character. "He is to draw upon the Bible commentators," it was laid down, "in order to indicate that he is not remiss in his studies." It was his duty to keep the record of all births, marriages, and deaths in accordance with the prescriptions of the government. Copies of all melodies sung in the temple had to be deposited in the archives of the tolerated Jews in Vienna. In addition to the trustees, there were also supervisors to preserve order during the service. These supervisors were honorary officers. In the renting of seats, the tolerated Jews of Vienna and their families had preference over the resident employees, who in turn had preference over foreigners with passports to stay in Vienna.

In 1854, Horwitz handed down a decision about family-crypts such as are being used in the Jewish cemetery of Vienna to this day. Neither Dr. Jellinek nor Sulzer was permitted to speak or sing in public outside of the temple. The rule was enforced even when Jellinek had to make an address in Fünfhaus to raise money for the erection of a synagogue, or when Sulzer was asked to give a concert at Court. It was a way of safeguarding the dignity of an incumbent in a synagogue office.

The Representatives had among other duties to consider every petition for toleration made by a Jew.

COMMUNAL ECONOMICS

It was not easy for the Representatives to balance the budget. The United Viennese Jewry, as the community was officially called, covered its expenses

partly through the meat-penny, that is, a contribution from the slaughtering of cattle, and partly through the *Büchelgeld*, that is, self-imposed taxes by individuals, and through free-will offerings. In 1833, the *Büchelgeld* could no longer be collected from some of the sixty men who used to give it, among them, Eskeles, who used to give twenty-four gulden.

Jews contributed extensively to Vienna churches, and to the building of the Cathedral of Cologne and of the Karlskirche. Adolph Jellinek contributed the proceeds from one of his publications to a Christian institute in Krems. Gifts were made by Jews to Jewish charities outside of Vienna as well as to many Christian causes.

CHAPTER VI

THE JEWS IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF VIENNA

THE Jews of Vienna contributed materially to the furtherance of the hopes of the Austrian rulers to raise industry and commerce to a high level, and to make Vienna the chief city of the country. Under Maria Theresa, the Jews had still been restricted to dealing in money, notes, and jewelry. At most, they had been permitted to become purveyors for the Court and the Treasury. Capitalism was thus forced upon them. No sooner had Joseph II widened their privileges than they became important factors in other directions. They improved the economic situation and made Vienna a center of commerce upon which the provinces were dependent and with which the markets of the world had to reckon. Industry in Vienna was definitely on the upgrade, particularly the textile industry. The actual manufacture of cloth in Vienna, however, was impossible because of the lack of water for milling.

Jewish merchants from Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary first appeared as middlemen in Vienna with a special knowledge of all the products of the city, and fostered the relations between it and the provinces which sought the latest styles. They became agents also for Bohemian and Moravian linen and cotton dealers who, until then, had had

to bring goods to the Vienna market themselves. In this way the entire intermediate trade in textiles was concentrated in Vienna through the activity of the Jews.

Jews became the intermediaries of the wholesale trade in cloth between Moravia and the Alpine countries which used the coarser products, and other foreign countries which used the famous Brünn cloth. As this business increased, the Jewish merchants settled in Vienna permanently instead of visiting it occasionally for business purposes.

Jews began to bring cereals into Vienna, by way of the Danube from the fruitful fields of Hungary, because sales by the peasants in the open market could not supply the general needs. That is how the Exchange originated. These merchants, Jews without exception, likewise settled in Vienna.

For a long time past, Jews had been *Randare*, that is lessees of distilleries, but on a small scale. The business continued in their hands and they made Vienna a center of the trade in alcoholic liquors.

Until the nineteenth century, Budapest had been the center of the woolen trade. But the well known Jewish firms, M. L. Biedermann, Figdor and Auspitz brought it to Vienna. Thus Vienna, with its large clothing storehouses, became more important than the capital of Hungary for the entire Hapsburg Monarchy west of the River Leitha.

The various branches of commerce and industry were settled in different districts of the city. The Jewish wholesale dealers in textiles—not being citizens they were prohibited from engaging in retail

trade—established their businesses in the district behind the Seitenstettengasse. The cloth business established itself on the Fleischmarkt. The fruit-exchange was in the Leopoldstadt, where it still exists in a stately building.*

In general the Jews in Vienna and in the hinterland were occupied in manufacturing candles, silk and potash, woven goods, cotton, "Vienna fustian," white goods, ribbon, printed goods, wool, finely woven shawls, fine cloth, and in bleaching and dyeing.

The Jews of Vienna created the ready-made clothing industry in Austria and the wholesale export business, and they control them to this day. They engaged to a considerable extent in the manufacture of underwear and of umbrellas. Up to 1850, they were barely represented in the other branches of manufacturing. Among 500 and more workers and manufacturers of gold and silver ornaments and jewelry, there were only twenty-seven Jews. Here and there was one who worked in wood, bone, mother of pearl, and in the making of optical instruments. They were represented to a larger extent in the manufacture of spirits, brandy and oil, as well as in the railroad-building, shipping and iron-working industries and in the coal business. We also find Jewish sculptors, painters, bandmasters, silhouette-makers, engravers, manual workers of every kind, letter-carriers, etc.

*See Appendices H and I, pp. 494-499.

CHAPTER VII

SOLOMON AND ANSELM ROTHSCHILD

JUST as one was accustomed to speak of the Jewish families of Berlin, those patricians of their time, as *Les Juifs de Frédéric le Grand*, so one might refer, though perhaps in a slightly different sense, to the Arnstein, Eskeles, Herz, Hönigsberg, Neuwall, Liebenberg, Lâmel, and Wertheimstein families as well as of the few ennobled Jews, as the *Kaiserjuden*, that is the Jews of the Emperor. The name of Rothschild was soon added to this group.

The coming of Solomon Rothschild marked a new era in the history of Vienna Jewry, for it was an event of international significance. To be sure, a European reputation had already been attained by Eskeles, who was the only Vienna Jew to receive an invitation to the Sanhedrin called by Napoleon in 1806. But Rothschild soon outstripped him in popular favor. This was due not only to his international relationships strengthened by close family ties, nor to his liberal business policy, but especially to his winning personality, his modest manner, and to the skillful and generous dealings with political financiers. To his honor it may be said that he employed his natural gifts in behalf of his coreligionists. In contrast to the apathy of Eskeles, from whom, as the minutes of the community indicate,

it was not even possible to collect the communal taxes, Rothschild's loyalty to Judaism stood out.

Solomon removed to Vienna at the invitation of Metternich, who needed him particularly for the sake of Austrian influence in Naples. The Jews, as is well known, could not acquire a house in Vienna and were reduced to the necessity of living in crowded quarters. Rothschild, therefore, lived as a foreigner, a citizen of the free city of Frankfort, in a hotel in Vienna. He was in constant touch with Metternich and the Court. In his hotel he received the King of Würtemberg and entertained Beethoven at a musicale. It was only in 1840, when he became an honored citizen of Vienna, that he purchased the hotel which, subsequently enlarged by the addition of the adjoining building, still houses the business of the firm.

Solomon was the personification of liberality. He gave very generous contributions for more or less charitable purposes, to Christians and Jews. At the same time, he was a perennial source of help to such parasitic personalities as Gentz and Saphir. Gentz wittily said of him: "Solomon, especially, is a very estimable person because of his character; no one leaves him without some consolation." After Gentz's death, Solomon wrote to his brother James in Paris, "Gentz was a real friend. I shall never again find one like him. He cost me large sums of money, incredibly large, for all he did was to write on a slip of paper what he wanted to have and he received it immediately. But ever since he is gone, I begin to see what we miss, and I should willingly give

three times as much if I could recall him to life." Such a tribute indicates true friendship, showing that no business motive in making these gifts prompted Rothschild. The Minister of Police, in his secret report to Metternich, spoke of the House of Solomon as very upright. This official then enjoyed so much power in Austria that he might be compared to the Grand Inquisitor of Spain, and he was so greatly esteemed that he was mentioned in the prayer for the Emperor recited in the synagogue. Solomon's loyalty to Metternich displayed itself, in particular, in 1848, when he fell from power and had to flee to England. Solomon was the only one who advanced him money for his journey, though to do so at that particular time required considerable courage. Upon reaching London, Metternich found a grateful pupil and a loyal admirer in Disraeli. While in exile, Metternich lived on a letter of credit granted by Solomon. After Metternich's return, Solomon became a close friend of his household. Metternich's daughter, Pauline Metternich-Sandor, remained true to the Rothschilds throughout her life and related many incidents about them in her childhood reminiscences.

The Emperor had granted nobility to Solomon as early as 1815. One of his brothers had been made Austrian Consul-General in London and the other in Paris. Like them, he was raised to a barony in 1823. By that time, he had already rendered very important services to the State, especially by the output of redeemable paper. He and Parish took over a loan of 48,000,000 gulden in 1820, another

of 37,500,000 in 1822. On two other occasions, in 1823 and in 1829, he helped Austria with 25,000,000, again with a large sum in 1834, with 30,000,000 in 1839 and with 40,000,000 in 1842.

The leading member of the firm Bethmann Brothers of Frankfort, whom Solomon visited in 1821, spoke of him in almost the same terms used by Gentz, as "a highly estimable man" whom he loved with all his heart, and said that he could understand "without any feeling of envy, that the Rothschilds would be useful middlemen for the government in every eventuality." The critical business agent of Prussia also found him "really very deserving of respect." After the firms of Fries, Geymüller and Steiner went into bankruptcy, and after the firm of Arnstein and Eskeles followed them, Solomon controlled almost the entire loan market of Vienna. Even Metternich, whose third wife once opposed Solomon's entry into Court circles, took a private loan from him, just as did the Schwarzenbergs, the Esterhazys, and others of the upper nobility, especially during the critical years of 1835 and 1836. It must be said, however, that Metternich paid back the loan long before it fell due.

Early in his career, Solomon made great efforts to acquire landed-estates in Austria. He sought this not only because of the security attached to personal property, but because he was especially anxious to make a breach in the wall of legislation by which the Jews of Austria were excluded from possession of landed property. Following the policy of the House in other countries where it obtained

privileges for the Jews in return for loans—in Rome the abolition of the Ghetto and in England Jewish emancipation—Solomon obtained from Metternich concessions to the Jews in legislation. It was he who influenced the Chancellor to take a favorable stand in the Damascus blood-accusation case of 1840. His loyalty to Judaism particularly and glowingly shines out in a letter dated January 11, 1843, which he sent to the Representatives of the Jews of Vienna thanking them for their congratulations upon his being appointed an Honorary Citizen of Vienna.* He writes of his love for and loyalty to the Jewish people, "to which, with the help of God, my entire family, to the very last member, will always adhere with the same pious religious feelings." If his family in various countries "has, perhaps, been fortunate enough to achieve something useful, it ever holds before its eyes the aim" to offer proof "that the Jews can serve their Fatherland spiritually, morally, and patriotically, and that they know themselves to be worthy of being put upon a level with every other citizen." He hopes that the example "of the unprejudiced attitude of Vienna's honest citizens" will also influence the Emperor to be favorably disposed to the Jews. He and his entire family will ever try to fulfill "the wise and pious teachings" of his father, to help with all his power every suffering human being as well as his oppressed coreligionists. But while he can achieve something

*This letter, of which I possess a copy, has never been published.

only by means of earthly possessions, the Representatives of the community have heavenly advantages to leave to their descendants, because "through their perseverance in piety, they have raised divine worship to a height of sacred devotion through which the religious faith of Israel strikes new roots for the good of the Fatherland and all its inhabitants." He, the first Jewish citizen of Vienna, he concludes, will not be the last.

Nathan Rothschild, at one time, expressed himself in similar vein: "If the emancipation should serve to weaken our faith," he said, "it would be a curse and not a blessing." The hope voiced here that the descendants might remain loyal to Judaism is met with frequently in the testaments and other writings expressive of the wishes of many important Viennese Jews. But it was a hope disappointed even during their lifetime. The very Representatives to whom Rothschild's letter was addressed, if they could now come to life, would wonder what had become of their "heavenly" inheritance.

Like his family in general, Rothschild planned to further the development of railroads, industry, and mining. Just as his brother in Paris built the railroad to Versailles, so Solomon, overcoming all difficulties, constructed the first railroad in Austria. The Rothschild railroad, the *Kaiser-Ferdinand-Nordbahn*, in turn helped in the progress of mining and industry, and had far-reaching results. There arose the mining works of Witkowitz, in which Rothschild was financially interested and which he developed in partnership with the Gutmann brothers.

Coal became more easily obtainable from Moravia and Silesia; and the oil industry of Galicia was materially advanced. Ever since 1853, the Directors of the *Nordbahn* investigated the oil possibilities of Galicia and did much for the development of that industry destined to be of such great importance for that country in general and for the Jews in particular. Beginning with 1857, Galicia was able to use its own naphtha and, therefore, did not have to resort to American petroleum, which not long after appeared upon the European market.

Solomon transacted considerable business for the members of the Imperial Court, who frequently speculated on the Exchange. Those who suffered losses with which a Jewish firm was only remotely connected usually became more violently hostile to the Jews than ever. Solomon, however, played a sure and lucky hand. When the Court Theater subsidized by the Emperor found no lessee, Solomon came to his financial support. It was not unusual in Vienna for Jews to assist theaters in financial difficulties. Naturally, Emperor Francis occasionally received Solomon in audience.

After Solomon's death, in 1855, his son Anselm took over the business in Vienna. He had already had the advantages of an academic education and soon acquired a reputation as an art collector and Maecenas. In 1861, he was admitted to membership in the Upper House of the Austrian Parliament. In 1855, he organized the Austrian *Kreditanstalt*. Its success gave rise to numerous similar institutions, but fraudulent in purpose. The House of Rothschild

issued a timely warning against them. On May 8, 1873, Julius von Goldschmidt, the agent of Rothschild, sounded an alarm, saying, "all the banks together are worth hardly half a million." Soon thereafter paper money became worthless, the *Kreditanstalt* collapsed and the panic engulfed all.

CHAPTER VIII

VIENNESE JEWS IN JOURNALISM

SINCE extremely radical newspapers of Jewish origin, or with Jewish contributors, have at times taken a stand against existing religious organizations or against religion altogether, or against the dominant conservative political parties, there has been resentment against Jews in journalism. It has been said that the limitation upon the Jews in the choice of occupation has forced a comparatively large number of them into radical journalism. Yet quite the contrary is the truth. Some Jewish writers have become radical not because they were born Jews but in spite of it. Having come in touch with a foreign culture, they were led astray by the destructive thought-processes of non-Jewish authors, much to the discredit and detriment of their race. They were carried away by freedom of speech into the abuse of it. Never was this so clear as in Vienna, when the censorship was first removed under Joseph II, and again during the revolutionary year 1848.

On the former occasion, when a wave of literature of a low order flooded Vienna, contributions by Jews were rare. But in the revolutionary period of 1848, there were some productions by young and irresponsible Jews against whom all the thoughtful representatives of Judaism took a stand.

Among the charlatans who caught the imagination of the time, the sort of men whom Schiller

and Goethe described, and of whom Vienna had many towards the end of the eighteenth century, the one who gained the greatest notoriety was the American Jew, Jacob Mayer, a Philadelphian, who appeared in Vienna in 1774 and 1802. Another character of the day was Sigmund Wolfsohn of England, who in 1795 founded an imperial and royal privilege factory for bandages and surgical instruments.

As a general rule, the Jews received cursory and, on the whole, unfavorable notice. The *Galanterien Wiens* (Viennese Gallantries) which appeared in 1784, published "by a man from Berlin", had the picture of a Jew making plans for deceiving no less than ten Christians on the following day. On the other hand, the same publication contrasts the awe of the Jew before his rabbi with the irreverent conduct of the Vienna Christian toward his spiritual leader.

Joseph Richter, in his malicious *Letters from Eipeldau*, in 1794, sarcastically wrote that the Jews of Vienna were indispensable, for "where would thieves dispose of their stolen goods if there were no longer any Jews?" And he went on to say that in reality there were no longer any Jews, for they had laid aside their beards, turned Christian and, instead of living in stinking holes as they did until then, resided in palatial dwellings, ate together with Christians in the restaurants, and flirted with pretty Christian girls. Here we are aware of the inveterate and everlasting hatred for the Jew about which

Grillparzer said: "The times of old have never died; they sleep and will again awaken."*

On the other side of the medal we have the honest Graffer who, in giving descriptions of the life of his day, in 1820, in his *Miniaturen*, said, "I have always been in love with the Hungarians and the Jews." Just to what extent general opinion turned in favor of the Jews, may best be seen from a flattering description of them in the *Theaterzeitung* edited by Bäuerle, in 1848: "There are talented Jewesses everywhere, but the greatest number is to be found in Vienna. It is astonishing how much knowledge they possess, how well they are able to engage in conversation, what superior judgments and views they offer, how felicitously they express themselves. Most of them speak three or four languages, sing Italian arias beautifully and support the arts conscientiously. One finds the most important artists at their soirées. They are true patrons of the theaters

*Grillparzer himself was not so immune to anti-Jewish animosity as might have been expected. Though he was a close friend of several Jewish families, dedicated a poem to the Todesco family on the occasion of their silver wedding anniversary, and wrote another poem when Sophie Todesco undertook the supervision of the Jewish Children's Home in 1858, yet, in 1865, he wrote of Jewish emancipation in the following quite unfriendly tone:

"For a long time your race will be with justice
Burdened with hate and vengeance and with shame;
Now all rights of citizens are yours
But you nevertheless remain forever Jews."

Even at a later date, we find that Christians could be on intimate friendly terms with Jews and, at the same time, deny justice to Judaism as a whole. Like Grillparzer, Dingelstedt, the Director of the Burgtheater, wrote against emancipation while standing in close personal relations with Mosenthal, Sonnenthal and others.

and concerts. They dress very simply but most tastefully. In conduct and appearance they are most charming and graceful. While occasionally their husbands are heard speaking jargon, they themselves have completely abandoned it. They give their children the finest education. In all charitable undertakings, they set an excellent example."

Caricatures of the Jews began to disappear from the Vienna stage, along with the clown, about the time of Sonnenfels. Instead, there began to appear scenes from Jewish life, without any satirical implications. J. F. von Kurz, the actor for whom young Haydn set a piece to music, at one time appeared upon the stage in the rôle of a rabbi, in a play during the course of which a Jewish wedding was produced upon the stage. The famous actress Gallmeyer carried a *mezuzah* for good luck. Jewish influence succeeded with the help of the police in preventing the presentation of *The Merchant of Venice*.

JEWISH LITERARY FIGURES—SONNENFELS

Joseph Sonnenfels may be considered as the first Jewish publicist of Vienna. Grandson of a rabbi of Berlin, he became a convert to Christianity. In fostering toleration towards all non-Catholics, he also was of service to the Jews. He was instrumental in the abolishing of cruel and inhuman punishments—in spite of the veto of the Empress, who said that she did not like any kind of innovation. In fact,

she called herself *un naturel de l'autre siècle*. Sonnenfels succeeded in ridding the Vienna stage of the clown, one of its chief features to which Gottsched had also been opposed. The clown was usually accompanied by an actor representing the Jew in an unfavorable light. Sonnenfels also established a German national theater in Vienna. Medieval as Austria was in a great many respects, he made its journalism noted for boldness and freedom. Lessing, who admired him, complained that liberty in Berlin existed in only one form, the freedom to write against religion, while in Vienna, one could write freely about everything—if one had the courage of a Sonnenfels. "Just try to write about other things," he said, "as Sonnenfels does, and you will soon realize which nation is the most slavish in Europe." Vienna really has Sonnenfels to thank for a large measure of that enlightenment which it adopted.*

In his day, Sonnenfels was accounted the "classic" German, the *magister elegantiarum*. He acted as the government ruler over the press and gave decisive judgment in all matters of literary style. This was at a time when all eyes in Germany were turned upon Austria, when Lessing was about to be appointed the Director of the Burgtheater in Vienna and when Klopstock, Wieland and Herder wrote poems about

*It is the irony of history, that in the modern Hall of Honor in the Vienna City Hall, the statue of Sonnenfels should stand near the statue of the rabid Jew-hater Bishop Kollonitz, the Primate of Hungary (not to be confused with the first Archbishop of Vienna, Count Sigismund Kollonitsch).

Joseph II and highly eulogized him. Goethe called the Vienna of those days the "capital of our Fatherland where the dawn is breaking for its most beautiful day."

ARNSTEIN, HERZENSKRON, JEITTELES

Benedict Arnstein was a member of the famous family and cousin of Nathan. In 1782, he wrote *A Jewish Family Scene* in connection with the Patent of Toleration. Nor did his literary work stop with that. He traveled throughout Germany in 1786 in order to make the acquaintance of the leading writers. He was friendly with Schreyvogel and Kotzebue, and wrote a number of dramas, some of which were produced in the National Theater of Vienna. When, in 1798, Benedict wanted to establish a leather business, the government of Lower Austria refused to grant him permission on the ground that he had a literary occupation. Subsequently, the Chancellery complied with his request, offering as a reason that "one cannot expect of the petitioner that he should always lead a contemplative life and spend all his days in no other occupation than esthetics and philosophy." Permission to trade was granted to him as to other tolerated Jews.

Hermann Herzenskron (1789-1863) received toleration as a dealer in Government securities, but he also composed the drama *Modethorheiten* (Follies of Fashion), which was played more than a hundred times in one year. His *Dramatic Trifles* appeared between the years 1826 and 1839. They are comedies, Viennese in spirit, and have been collected in

six volumes. His two sons also engaged in literary work.

Alois Jeitteles came of a family noted for learning and philanthropy in the city of Prague. He counted Beethoven, Grillparzer, Castelli and artists of the Hofburgtheater among his friends. He was a physician by profession, but he also wrote plays which were produced at the Burgtheater and elsewhere. Some of his poems were set to music by Beethoven and Giuliani.

Some other members of his family deserve mention. Ignatz Jeitteles studied in Prague and became a merchant and a journalist in Vienna. He dealt with Jewish emancipation in his *Gedanken eines jüdischen Kindes* (Thoughts of a Jewish Child) published in the Jewish periodical *Shulamith*. Besides this, he also wrote *Analekten zur Geschichte der Juden* (Sketches in the History of the Jews), also *Das grosse jüdische Konsilium in der Ebene von Agada in Ungarn im Jahr 1650* (The Great Jewish Council in the Field of Agada in Hungary in the Year 1650), an imaginary theme. He received an honorary degree from the University of Jena in 1838.

Judah Jeitteles published a grammar of the Aramaic language in Hebrew, and a new edition of the Bible with a German translation by Anton Schmid and others. His son, Andreas Ludwig, became known as a lyric poet under the name of Justus Frey. After he had been baptized, he was appointed, in 1834, Professor in the Medical Faculty. A fervent German patriot, he charged Goethe when paying him a visit in 1826, with being devoid of national feeling.

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SAPHIR

Moritz G. Saphir, a baptized Jew, left his Hungarian home in 1822 at the call of Bäuerle to join him in his theatrical journal. He was compelled to leave Vienna and subsequently also Berlin and Munich, because of the libelous nature of his articles. He returned to Vienna in 1834, as a co-editor with Bäuerle, but became publisher of the *Humorist* from 1837 to 1858. Feared for his biting criticisms, he enjoyed an extraordinary influence. His addresses, afterwards published as *Humorous Readings*, were well attended. His humorous *Peoples' Calendar*, beginning with 1855, reached editions of twenty thousand. Some of his writings, like his *Konversationslexikon für Geist, Witz und Humor*, reached several editions. His influence was not altogether wholesome.

Hermann Joseph Landau, a great-grandson of Ezekiel Landau, was one of the enthusiastic admirers and coworkers of Bäuerle and Saphir. He, too, gave humorous readings. During his travels through Germany and Austria, he had become acquainted with practically all the great figures of his day in art and literature. He immortalized them in his *Stammbblätter* (Leaves from an Album), which he printed in 1875. It is a series of personal portraits based on extracts from remarks and addresses. He is always free from religious bias. His book contains accounts of many writers, one of them being G.

Herlossohn, who under the pseudonyms H. Clauren and E. Forstemann wrote short stories and collaborated in the *Konversationslexikon* of Brockhaus. It deals with some unfortunate martyrs to the revolution, among them men of Jewish birth like Carl Beck, Mosenthal, Frankl, Feldmann, Sulzer and others.

CHAPTER IX

EAST AND WEST

SPIRITUAL LIFE

JUDAISM had reached a critical stage. The German and Polish groups were standing at the cross-roads; Western Judaism was beginning to branch off from Eastern Judaism. To be sure, the boundary between the two was not a geographical one. For several centuries previously and especially since the mass migration of Polish Jews in the middle of the seventeenth century, Jewish schools and Jewish learning in the western communities were under the direction of teachers from the east. German rabbinical positions were filled with scholars whose training had been in Eastern academies. Even Jewish youths from the west went to Poland to "learn," that is to acquire a Talmudic-rabbinic training. As a matter of fact, the spiritual center of Judaism had gradually been moving eastward ever since the fourteenth century. There the Jewish community had, down to very recent days, the advantage of practical autonomy, and thus won for itself a national status. It was, however, separated from the outer world in every respect, politically, religiously, nationally and socially. Jewish tradition, freed from every foreign influence, maintained itself on its own basis and ruled the life of the Jew.

Down to the middle of the eighteenth century, this national ghetto of the East was largely reflected in the city ghettos of the West. Nevertheless, the rigid walls of the ghettos in German cities occasionally permitted outside currents to seep through, and at the same time there was a broadening of point of view among the Jews. The culture which had been thus transplanted upon a foreign soil began to adjust itself to the requirements of the new home. In East-European Jewry, Jewish nationalism and religion were closely interwoven, but in Western Judaism Jewish national consciousness was replaced by a patriotic devotion to the country of adoption. Hence, Messianic hopes being weakened by modern rationalism, were relegated to the background, while passages expressing longing for Palestine were eliminated here and there from the Jewish prayer book. Jewish nationalism was not likely to become popular among the Jews of Western Europe, as it was a period of humanitarianism in which stress was laid upon cosmopolitanism, as is evidenced by the ardent poems of Schiller. All prejudices were disavowed even to the extent of making hatred of the Jew despicable. This was especially true in the Protestant countries where an attitude inimical to Judaism was not instilled through dogma and liturgy, but was left to individual choice. In such an environment, a liberal policy toward the Jews could make headway, being in accord with the ideas of enlightenment.

Moreover, a personality like that of Moses Mendelssohn could not but leave a profound impression upon his fellow Jews. On the one hand, he was

loyal to Judaism; on the other, he was true to the spirit of the age. His activities won for him not only the esteem of those in power, but what is more important, the friendship of intellectual leaders like Lessing. It might be open to question whether Lessing and Mendelssohn, meeting only on the lofty planes of thought, would not feel greater intellectual companionship with each other than with their respective coreligionists. But Mendelssohn's broad point of view did not interfere with his exercising a profound influence upon his fellow Jews. He was a Jew, an orthodox Jew, and at the same time a master of German culture and a contributor to it! What wonder, therefore, that his example and his literary efforts to introduce European ideas to his coreligionists met with splendid success. For the Jewish character was preserved in his work, if not by its content and subject-matter, at least through the retention of the Jewish script.*

HEBREW PERIODICALS

The *Haskalah* movement in Vienna is directly traceable to Mendelssohn and his periodical *Ha-Meassef* (The Ingatherer). Some of its articles were of such great interest that in 1820 Schmid reprinted a selection of the best of them under the title *Bikkure*

*Writing German in Jewish script has been continued down to very recent times by most of the Jewish masters of the German pen, such as Jellinek and Bloch, who used it in their notes. It was frequently used even by Adolph Fischhof.

ha-'Ittim (First Fruits of the Time). He characterized the selection as "a useful and instructive book of business and pleasure for the year 5581, appropriate as a New Year's gift for the father and mother, who are the learned heads of the family, or as a prize for a diligent youth." The *Bikkure ha-'Ittim* became an annual and continued to appear thereafter for several years. Contributors at first were exclusively Galician Jews, among them the great Rapoport and the sharp-witted Erter. Later the contributors included Bohemian, Moravian, Silesian and Viennese Jews. In its issue for the third year, the project of the American, Mordecai Manuel Noah of the State of New York, to found a Jewish State in America, was scornfully rejected. "We feel ourselves closely bound up with the nations among whom we live," said the writer, "and we want to follow in their light."

This year-book is permeated with the outspoken cosmopolitanism that characterized the German classical authors. It served a double purpose. On the one hand, it helped to familiarize the Jews with the culture of the West. On the other hand, such Italians as Luzzatto, Reggio and Ghirondi, whose Jewish compatriots had long been acquainted with Western ideas but were in danger of forgetting their Hebrew culture, strove to awaken in them consciousness of their Jewish heritage. The journal even made an attempt at a theodicy in connection with the earthquake at Lisbon: God was the God of History. Rapoport devoted most of his articles to Jewish history. In barking back to a glorious past

and in attempting to prove the idea of spiritual continuity, the periodical opened up a further source of Jewish self-consciousness and religious ecstasy. It thus satisfied a crying need, since the cosmopolitan tendencies of the age weakened the stimulating effects of the belief that the Jews were a chosen people. The transformation which this belief underwent is brought out in an article by Chorin. He believed that the election of Israel consisted in its mission to bring to the human race the ideal of pure humanity and all-embracing brotherhood. Among the later contributors to the periodical were Samson Bloch, Joseph Bergel, Joseph Weisse, Duschak, David Samosc, M. B. Friedenthal, the famous translator of the prayer books and of other Hebrew books, and David Deutsch. The three contributors mentioned last came from Breslau. To this group were added David Caro of Posen and the bibliographer Benjacob of Wilna. The final volume of the twelve annual issues appeared in Prague, under the editorship of Shalom Cohen, who was the guiding spirit of the entire undertaking, and of M. J. Landau. The publication was then discontinued because Schmid found that it was not remunerative.

A new periodical under the editorship of Dr. M. E. Stern replaced the old one. The second number of this new periodical bore the title *Kokebe Yizhak*, meaning "the Stars of Isaac," Isaac being the name of the editor's father, while Star (German, *Stern*) was an allusion to the family name. Among its distinguished contributors were Lazar Horwitz, the noted Rabbi of Vienna; Simon Bacher, father of

Wilhelm Bacher; Solomon Rubin, who was interested in the comparative history of religion; Ed. Horn, who afterwards became State Secretary of Hungary; Schiller-Szinessy of the University of Cambridge; Adolf Schmiedel, afterwards preacher in Vienna; Isaac Hirsch Weiss; J. J. Unger; L. Dukes; Jacob Goldenthal; Adolf Jellinek; the Luzzattos, father and son; and Alois Müller, at the time an official at the University Library in Vienna and later Director of the University Library in Graz. There were also two women contributors, Rachel Morpurgo and Yetty Wohllerner, whose work at once placed them among the most celebrated Hebraists. In spite of great difficulties, Stern continued his undertaking to 1869. At one time he was financially assisted by the Academy of Sciences. He was also decorated by the Emperor with a medal for Arts and Sciences. He long remained an interesting figure in Vienna, visited by Jews from over the whole world.*

The *Beth ha-Midrash* (House of Study), published by Isaac Hirsch Weiss, concerned itself with a specialized field, thus representing a departure from the above periodicals. Begun in 1865, it concerned itself chiefly with the Talmud, which it treated in accordance with the spirit of the age. Sixteen years later Weiss, in conjunction with Meir Friedmann, began the publication of *Beth Talmud*. This periodical, however, lies outside the limits of our interests in this book, as do also the literary efforts of Smolenskin in Vienna.

*See Appendix J, p. 500.

These periodicals were the vehicles of the *Haskalah* movement, and apparently represented in their influence the fulfillment of the biblical prophecy, "God enlarge Japheth and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem" (Gen. 9.27). By the translation of articles other than those of Jewish interest into Hebrew, it was hoped to turn the eyes of the ghetto Jew upon the beauties of the "wisdom of the nations." This was done not because the editors had assimilationist tendencies, but because they believed that one could properly appreciate the heritage of one's own nation if one became familiar with that of other nations.

THE *Haskalah* IN VIENNA

In 1831, Letteris joined the literary editors of Schmid's Publishing House. Like many other Jewish literati, he was a Galician. Schmid, like other Austrian publishers, profited by the regulations under which the Jews were compelled to buy books published in Austria only and were themselves excluded from the publishing business. Anton Schmid, later Von Schmid, as a result became very wealthy. These publishers naturally needed typesetters and proof readers who were familiar with Hebrew, Aramaic and Judeo-German, and in this way some Jewish literary men found a home and a livelihood in Vienna. Indirectly they made Vienna the center, or at least one of the important cities for the dissemination of *Haskalah*, the Jewish counterpart of the "Enlightenment."

For the dissemination of their ideas, these standard-bearers of a unique culture needed literary organs. These in turn, served as an advertisement of the publishers who employed the Jewish writers and gave them a livelihood. The employees of the printing establishments and the Jewish private teachers who tutored in the homes of wealthy Jews, as well as other learned employees in the service of the latter, formed the circle of the Viennese *Maskillim*. They formed the bonds which united the Jews of Vienna as a national unity by means of the Hebrew language.*

In 1840, Letteris accepted in Prague a position similar to the one he had held in Vienna, but in 1848, he returned to Vienna where he was now employed at the Court Library. In 1861, he established his own printing shop. His chief activity was in the field of translation into Hebrew, work which he did with extraordinary facility. He translated *Athalie* and *Esther* by Racine, Goethe's *Faust*, some songs by Byron and Schiller, and Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*. He also edited the *Wiener Blätter* with the scientific supplement *Sefirat Tifarah* (1850 to 1851), and the *Wiener Vierteljahrschrift* with its Hebrew supplement, *Abne Nezer* (1853).

Between 1838 and 1873, Max Emanuel Stern from Pressburg was Schmid's proof reader. He is noted, above all, as the publisher of the *Kokebe Yizhak*. Besides many works on Hebrew grammar, most of them in Hebrew, he wrote on Jewish philosophy. He was also the author of *Die Rabbinerwahl in*

*See Appendix K, p. 501.

Bumesl, a German satire on the choice of a rabbi for Vienna after the death of Mannheimer. He further composed a prayer book for women which went through five editions, and a translation of the *Mahzor* (prayer book for festivals) in meter.*

In Vienna, in 1849, Stern published,**under the old title *Bikkure ha-Ittim*, a book consisting of literary contributions and interpretations of the Bible which had been rejected by the strictly scientific and, therefore, less popular *Kerem Hemed* (Delightful Vineyard).

Kerem Hemed was published by Goldenberg, a Galician Jew, and was scientific from the start. It appeared for seven years down to 1843, and was printed at first by Schmid and later by Landau. Its high standard is evident from the fact that a chapter from the famous historico-philosophical work by Krochmal, *More Nebuke ha-Zeman* (Guide for the Perplexed of the Time), was published in it before the complete work appeared in print. Important articles in biblical exegesis figured conspicuously among its contributions, as also did caustic criticisms of Hasidism, by Perls, the author of the brilliant *Megalle Temirin* (The Revealer of the Hidden). It published also Erter's criticisms of the Hasidic movement and essays by Zunz and Geiger.

What was the attitude of the Jews of Vienna to this literary activity? Did mere geographical location or typographical skill bring together in this

*See Appendix L, p. 503.

**To Stern we are indebted for the photographs of the inscriptions on the tombstones in the old cemetery on the *Seegasse*.

particular city such diverse literary undertakings in the ancient tradition and in the modern spirit, to which Galicians as well as Italian Jews also contributed? Was the literary activity due to the sole fact that Vienna was the capital of the monarchy, or did it result from the nature of the Jewish community itself?

The Jews of Vienna did not constitute the majority of the subscribers to these literary periodicals. At the time, and down to a much later date, the Vienna Jews supported them only half-heartedly. Such guiding spirits as Mannheimer and Jellinek, who himself was no insignificant figure in the Jewish literary world, deserve the credit for spreading the love of Hebrew culture. They made personal sacrifices and enlisted the services of men of means in assisting talented writers and supporting worthy undertakings. Even the greatest among the literary lights, such as Luzzatto, were saved from want by tactfully proffered support.

Some of the publishers of these periodicals and their coworkers held respected positions in the communal and social life of Vienna. Not to speak of Mannheimer and Jellinek, we must mention Veith, a native of Kuttienplan near Marienbad, the secretary of the community.*

*See Appendix M, p. 504.

BOOK V—THE REVOLUTIONARY YEAR 1848

CHAPTER I

THE REVOLUTION AND ADOLPH FISCHHOF

THE influence of the Jewish intellectuals of the pre-March days upon the life of Vienna was not wielded by literary men alone. Physicians, lawyers, statesmen and others played their part. On the whole, the lot of intellectually ambitious Jews before 1848 was a rather poor one. They were frequently kept out of the legal and the teaching professions even after they had become baptized. Medicine alone was freely open to Jews, and many Christian patients chose them as their physicians. Of the two physicians who specialized in children's diseases in Vienna, one was L. Pollitzer, a Jew. Dr. J. M. Oesterreicher, "Official Royal Hungarian Physician," was held in high esteem. As is evident from his title, he was a State official. He gained a reputation also as a chemist, especially through the opening of the baths at Fűred on the Plattensee. The Emperor recognized his services by granting him the famous Golden Medal of Honor.

When Dr. Rosas, Professor of medicine, wrote an article against Jewish physicians, in the Medical Journal of Vienna, in 1842—an article which was resented even by Christians—Dr. Oesterreicher was pointed out as a shining example of the able Jewish

physician, in refutation of Rosas's charges. Mannheimer was one of three Jews who replied to them. A second article of his in answer to the counter-charges by Rosas was forbidden by the censor.

Nothing remained for the Jews who wished to legalize their stay in Vienna except private teaching or mercantile posts. The Jews were drawn to the Revolution of 1848 because they hoped to change for the better the serious political state of affairs, and to alleviate the privations which they had to suffer and which wrought indescribable misery, especially during the year of famine, 1847. Finally, they were encouraged to entertain glimmers of hope by the growth of freedom in other countries.

There was wisdom in Disraeli's remark, in his speech in 1842, in behalf of the admission of Lionel Rothschild to the English House of Commons: "I consider it a serious blunder for a Conservative Party to persecute the Jews. By their very nature they are a conservative race, but such treatment drives them to the parties of revolution and disorder, to which they lend a dangerous intellectual trend. For the very reason that I am a Christian I refuse to take the terrible responsibility of discrimination against those who belong to that religion into whose bosom my Savior was born." Unfortunately these words found no echo in Vienna.

The transformation of Austria in the year 1848 began with the moment when Rothschild came to Metternich and informed him that France had just become a Republic.

The governments of southern Germany and Hesse had already acquiesced in the demands of the people for the abolition of the censorship, for representative government, and adjuring the army to uphold the Constitution. The tide of this movement soon reached Vienna. The local Estates wanted to present to the Emperor an Address outlining the wishes of the people. In the meantime, everyone rushed to the banks because the specter of the State's bankruptcy rose before every eye. At the same time, the liberals among the nobility united with those in the upper middle class, in order to prepare a petition to the Landtag, called for March 13.

The students voiced the general dissatisfaction felt especially against State Secretary Metternich. On March 11, they presented a petition to the National Committee which was meeting in the still existing Estates Building on the *Herrengasse*. They asked for freedom of the press, a national guard, general representation in the government, and other reforms on the model of the more liberal German States. In a modest and moderate manner, they asked for nothing more than representation of the country's Estates (the nobility, the clergy and the cities of the entire Empire) in Vienna, with power to vote taxes and participation in law-making.

ADOLPH FISCHHOF

On March 13, the birthday of Joseph II, a number of students, among them some from the Polytechnikum, arrived in front of the *Landhaus*, in which the

Estates of Lower Austria were in session. Among the curious bystanders, was a young assistant physician of the General Hospital. As he viewed the crowd aimlessly lingering in the court of the *Landhaus*, he experienced a feeling natural on such an occasion. It was as though all his subconscious brooding had come into the foreground; seething emotions against the prevailing injustice suddenly broke the bounds and burst forth like a stream whose pent up waters break through the dikes which check its flow. "Now or never," he suddenly said to himself. "Gentlemen!" he said, addressing the crowd. The word fairly "broke from beyond the barrier of his teeth," to use a Homeric expression.

The aimless crowd came to life. The word fell like a spark into a barrel of powder. It electrified those standing about. Their enthusiasm rose. It was a moment of immeasurable importance in universal history.

The speaker was Adolph Fischhof. He was raised on the shoulders of four men. "A speaker, a speaker!" was heard on every side, and in a moment all were ready to listen to his words, which seemed to voice not only his own sentiments but those of all assembled. He found a responsive chord when amidst stormy applause he demanded freedom of the press, popular representation, liberty to study and to teach, freedom of conscience, ministerial responsibility to the people, and union with Germany. At the height of his appeal, he called out in resounding phrases that carried everything before them: "Whoever has no courage on a day like this

belongs in the nursery." With fiery enthusiasm he closed: "Cheers for Austria and its glorious future! Long live the nations united with Austria! Hail to freedom!" Out of the frantic joy that followed his words, calls were heard asking for the name of the speaker. Now Fischhof showed the greatness of his courage. He knew that he was putting his life in danger, yet he called out bravely: "Gentlemen, the Damoclean sword of the police hangs over my head, but, like Hutten, I say, 'I have dared!' I am Dr. Adolph Fischhof." And in response came from every mouth, "Cheers for Fischhof. Long may he live!"

This speech has been compared to the trumpet blasts which caused the fall of Jericho's walls. For it made a breach in the walls of "the China of Europe," as Austria was then called. Sixty years later, a contemporary of these events wrote: "The 13th of March is a memorable day, for on it, in the year 1848, the flower of freedom, which had drooped for centuries, suddenly unfolded its blossoms and exhaled an odor which brought the nations of Europe to a state of bewildering excitement."

As is usual in the case of such mass gatherings, one effective speech encouraged others to make addresses. But the new speakers could not make themselves heard. Then Dr. Joseph Goldmark, a brother of the well known composer, rose. "Gentlemen," he said, "if we remain standing here in the court and continue to make addresses to each other, we shall never get anywhere. We have had enough of monologues. Let us try to begin a dialogue with the representatives of the Estates of the land." A

practical solution was thus offered, and everyone called out, "To the Estates!"

Again it was Fischhof who took the decisive step. He shouted: "If the Estates will not come to us, let us go to the Estates." Thereupon, followed by a large crowd, he entered the Parliament House. Here the Marshal of the Province, Count Montecuccoli, stepped forward to meet them and asked what they wanted. Fischhof spoke up and referred to the petition of the burghers and students. Then the Marshal replied, "Gentlemen, these wishes are also the wishes of the Estates." He begged them to allow the Estates time and peace for deliberation. Fischhof asked the crowd to wait in the court for the results of the deliberation. Twelve selected spectators, among whom were Fischhof, Goldmark, and two other Jewish doctors, waited for the results of the deliberation. In the meantime, the crowd in the court became so noisy that their twelve delegates lost control over them, and the Estates left the House with nothing actually achieved.

The excitement continued to grow. A measure of order was established only after Metternich resigned and burghers and students were armed with weapons, assuming the responsibility for the maintenance of order. That Jews were to be found among them as well as among the excited population, is not surprising. A Jewish poet, L. A. Frankl, composed the first song of Freedom, *Die Universität*, a sort of Marseillaise of the Vienna revolution. Among the signers of a manifesto by Vienna authors were several Jews: M. E. Stern, I. S. Tauber, Samson

Deutsch, Sigmund Engländer and Leopold Breuer. But neither this circumstance nor the fact that the populace in the suburbs destroyed property belonging to Jews and Gentiles, proves that the Jews were the moving force of the revolution or that the population was opposed to their activity. The disorders did not arise out of feeling against the Jews particularly, though it is true that in various places in the monarchy pogroms took place. The fact is that the Jews wanted nothing more than the majority of the people did. As a matter of fact they sought no more than what had been granted to the nation by Joseph II. Indeed, a peaceful demonstration in his memory took place near his statue on March 14, the day on which freedom of the press and a national guard were granted. A Jew, Frankl, with several other students, attempted to quiet the mob. On March 15 again, a Jew, Dr. Goldmark, headed a group of students with the object of assuring general safety. That was the day when the Emperor granted a Constitution. Vienna was illuminated and Frankl then expressed himself thus: "Out of a morning and an evening the third day came. God saw, and we saw with Him, that it was good."

A Press Law to facilitate the passage from censorship to freedom of the press, was announced on April 1. There were strong protests against it among the students in the Hall of the University. Ignaz Kuranda offered the most practical and thorough criticism. The government thereupon declared itself ready to consider the proposals of the students. These were formulated by Kuranda

and several student deputies, who were then carried into the Hall on the shoulders of their fellow-students. Frankl and one other Jew belonging to this Committee were entrusted with the working out of the law.

On April 9, a deputation of the Academic Legion of Vienna left for Pressburg in order to express the sympathy of the city for Hungary, and was received by the Hungarian Parliament in open session. Fischhof read an address, and the delegation presented a German flag to the Hungarian nation on behalf of Vienna. Frankl composed a poem expressing sympathy for the Hungarian patriots.

In Vienna itself, Goldmark was the most active among those who tried to lead the students back within the channels of daily life. For these young men were still the most important factor in the political situation. On May 4, Dr. Goldmark and a student named Joseph Unger, who was later to attain to a ministerial post, laid before the Students' Committee a draft of a petition, the chief purpose of which was the calling of a Constitutional Assembly to work out a democratic constitution. On May 15, armed workers and students compelled the government to adopt these resolutions. In this way did Democracy carry the day over the propertied Liberal party, which consisted of the nobility and the upper middle-class. In the meantime delegates, among whom were Moritz Hartmann and Ignaz Kuranda, were sent from Bohemia to the Parliament in Frankfort. Kuranda was dispatched from Frankfort as a German representative to Bohemia to persuade

the Czechs to enter the Parliament; but the Czechs refused.

On May 26, the government ordered the students to disband their legion. Fischhof, who had previously voted in favor of disbanding it, now opposed this when it was made compulsory. Even their Field-Chaplain, Fuster, called upon them to resist with arms. All three, Fischhof, Goldmark and Fuster, supported by the National Guard, did their utmost to obtain the recall of the order to disband. Goldmark, however, demanded from the insurgents that they dismantle the barricades. He was arrested as a traitor, and was freed only by the intercession of the Academic Legion. With the consent of the Ministry, a Committee of Security was formed on May 27, consisting of burghers and students. This committee, of which Fischhof was elected chairman, was to direct the affairs of Vienna and the surrounding country and to protect the popular rights of all the Austrian provinces. Since the Committee received no pay for its exacting labors, and men like Fischhof worked day and night, its government has justly been called the most inexpensive that ever ruled over Austria. Even political opponents have admitted that the direction of the Committee by Fischhof was circumspect, efficient and forceful.

The powers vested by the Ministry in the Committee were almost without precedent, as may be seen by the following provision: "All State property as well as the property of the Emperor, all public institutions, collections, institutes, and associations of the Capital City are hereby placed under the

protection of the population of Vienna and its newly appointed Committee." The Ministry also declared that the Committee was independent of every other authority. The Ministry even placed itself under the rule of the Committee, and while undergoing reorganization between the 8th and the 19th of June, the Committee was the only governing body in Vienna.

Since all questions of the day were presented to Fischhof for decision and his authority extended over the entire Monarchy, he was practically its absolute ruler. He thus occupied a position such as few Jews ever held. Of his contemporaries, perhaps the only one to be compared to him was that Venetian fighter for freedom, Manin, a descendant of a Jewish exile from Portugal. In any other country, Fischhof would long ago have been honored with a monument just as Manin and other patriots have been. He was already recognized in his own day as "the only statesman of the pre-March days." It may also be said of him that he used his position only for the general welfare.

It was quite within his character that he took a stand in favor of political equality for the Jew. He had, as a child, already shown signs of Jewish self-consciousness and of appreciation for the importance of Jewish solidarity. Born in Altofen in 1816, he attended a gymnasium in Budapest. Since every class room at that time had a special "Jew-bench", he naturally also occupied it. One day, a fellow-student, a young Count, was made to sit upon this bench as a punishment. Fischhof refused to yield

his place to him. "Let the Counts sit where they belong," he remarked indignantly, "We Jews remain together."

When he battled for the rights of his coreligionists, he did so with the feeling that he was struggling for the rights of all the dispossessed. Just as he made his voice heard along with that of Mannheimer in favor of equal rights for the Jews, so he joined him in demanding equal rights for the workers too. Moreover, he made very little personal use of his position of honor. With the opening of the Constitutional Reichstag, he considered the work of the Committee of Security ended. Moreover, he believed that his membership in the Reichstag was more important than the existence of the Committee. When, therefore, his motion to disband it was not accepted, he resigned. As a matter of fact, the Committee soon ceased to exist.

The first preliminary meeting of the Convention (Reichstag) took place on July 10. Fischhof represented a Vienna suburb. Mannheimer, who enjoyed the great respect of everyone, represented the city of Brody and was elected second Vice-President, thus enjoying a distinction similar to that of Gabriel Riesser in the Parliament at Frankfort. The two Assemblies resembled each other in a great many other respects as well. The festive opening of the Vienna Parliament took place on July 22.

The Jewish question did not come up until September 26. Fischhof and Goldmark had invited some of their fellow-members to dinner. In the course of the discussion, the Jewish question was

mentioned and the mood of the guests changed to one of indifference. Apathy was manifested by the liberal leaders at the Frankfort Parliament also. It was feared that opposition to a removal of restrictions upon the Jews would develop, and this happened in Vienna. Nothing was done in regard to the Jewish taxes, which were particularly oppressive in Galicia.

CHAPTER II

THE REVOLUTION AND THE JEWISH QUESTION

THE JEWISH QUESTION BEFORE THE IMPERIAL COUNCIL

The first subject for discussion relating to the Jewish Question before the Imperial Council was naturally the *Bollete* tax, which was really a Jewish body-tax. It had been abolished in Prussia in 1787, and later in the other German States. It had even been abolished by the Patent of Toleration in Austria, but was reëstablished in 1792. Since foreign Jews were also subject to it, other governments made complaints about it. No less disgraceful was the Toleration Tax or, better put, the Intolerance Tax. The granting of toleration by such methods reflected upon the Princes themselves, who were actually well paid for this supposed act of kindness.

Joseph Wertheimer, the great philanthropist, concisely and powerfully described the tragedy of the Jews of Vienna at the time, in his book, *Die Juden in Oesterreich* (The Jews in Austria), written with the assistance of Kuranda. Because of the Austrian censorship, it was anonymously published in Leipzig (1842). It depicted the Jew as limited in his civic and political rights, burdened with special Jewish taxes, and surrounded at every step by chicanery designed to degrade and annoy him.

Although a specific regulation forbade the police to use the word "Jew" in official documents, nevertheless, the sign *Judenamt* (Jewish Bureau) appeared conspicuously over one door of every police station. There the richest as well as the poorest Jew had to come to pay his *Bollete* tax. As told before, the officials used to awaken Jews in the middle of the night, or search the passing omnibuses, or descend upon the synagogues and force the Jews to show their permits of residence. The same officials continuously exposed them to the ridicule of their Christian neighbors. Unfortunate indeed was the Jew from an outlying district who, upon permission to rent a house for a month only, but finding none for such a limited time, undertook the risk of leasing one for a quarter or half a year. He was cruelly ordered to leave even though his wife and child might be lying sick. Placards and newspapers announced that Jewish taxes would be collected during the current year.

The Jews had to take a special oath in a court of law, *more judaico*. Before taking the oath, they were impressively reminded that Christians served the same God as they did and that under no circumstances must they swear falsely, and excuse themselves for doing so before God on the ground that they were compelled to take an oath against their own will by Christians, that is by those whom they considered idol-worshippers. The Jew could not be a valid witness to a will, nor the guardian of a Christian orphan, nor act as assessor in court. The Rabbi who performed a marriage not sanctioned

by the authorities was subject to corporal punishment. There was only one way out of all these difficulties, and that was baptism, for even emigration was rendered difficult by heavy taxes.

Such is the situation that one must clearly have in mind if one is to understand why descendants of many very orthodox Jews of pre-March Vienna turned their backs upon Judaism in such large numbers. On the one hand, the Jew who was loyal to his faith found the door closed to the most modest means for obtaining a livelihood; a mark of shame branded him as painfully as did the yellow badge of the Jew of the Middle Ages. On the other hand, the baptized Jew found his road clear to the attainment of the most dazzling positions and the highest honors, not excluding ducal crowns, Cardinals' purple, the Marshal's staff and ministerial chairs. Many lingered at the crossroads of such a test of character. It should be a matter of satisfaction that ever so many withstood the temptation.

THE JEWISH TAXES

The Jewish taxes were set at half of the amount of the business tax; those who paid no business tax were taxed according to their income, between a minimum of twenty gulden and a maximum of two hundred. The amount was recorded annually, and was specifically designated as a Jewish tax. In addition, Jews had to pay a tax for the privilege of being married, and even for the ratification of Jewish elections and officials. Particularly odious were the

consumers' taxes which the Jews of Bohemia, Moravia and Galicia had to pay in addition to the general taxes on victuals. These taxes weighed particularly heavily upon the poorer classes. Juridically, historically, morally, logically and politically, they were unwarranted. Equally harsh and unjust was the so-called habitation-tax which the Jews of Bohemia had to pay regardless of any decrease in the number of families. Even if a single Jew remained in the country, he had to pay the tax in full. Other taxes, like the Moravian Family-tax and the Class-tax in Silesia, were just as oppressive.

The pauperized Jews of Galicia, whom Mannheimer represented, were bowed beneath the weight of the taxes, which amounted to no less than 700,000 gulden. They had to pay an increment of from eighty to one hundred per cent upon *kasher* meat, so that a pound of meat cost them double that which it cost others. Naturally, many Jews could not afford the luxury of meat throughout the year. Moreover, the Galician Jew had to pay the candle-tax—a tax for the burning of candles on Sabbaths, holidays, *Jahrzeiten*, Hanukkah, at weddings and on other occasions, at one's home or in the synagogue. Other taxes included seal-taxes, for certificates granting the right to form a *minyán*,* a habitation tax of 300 gulden, and finally, the marriage taxes.

*An assembly containing a quorum of at least ten persons necessary for public worship and the reading of the Torah.

When the Imperial Council met, Kraus, the Minister of Finance, suggested that all these taxes should be abolished. And when several of the deputies took an opposing stand, Mannheimer asked for the floor.

All eyes turned to him if for no other reason than his striking personality, which showed strength of character, determination and modesty. He had not spoken before, but could not leave unanswered the objections to the motion to discontinue the taxes. His position was after all not so difficult, for the opposition seems to have been under the impression that a Jew performed no duties to the State but only paid taxes. Mannheimer found it easy to disarm the opposition by pointing to the fact that first the Jews paid taxes like any other citizen of the State; in addition they paid the special Jewish taxes, and finally, they paid taxes to the Jewish community; thus they were thrice taxed. Since State taxes were farmed out to the highest bidder, who, in turn, had his subordinate tax-farmers, the collections were frequently accompanied by barbarity of action. Taxes that were imposed at various times for some particular purpose remained in force even after the reason for imposing them had long disappeared. The old régime, Mannheimer declared in his speech, had openly announced that the system of Jewish taxation could not long remain. The real question was how the State would make up for the loss of revenue that would follow; yet there should have been no difficulty in making up the deficit of 1,000,000 incurred during thirty

years of peace just past, from the midst of a population of 30,000,000 and in a budget of 150,000,000. The Finance Committee of the Reichstag had quite properly called the Jewish taxes "shamefully out of tune with the spirit of the time." He therefore appealed not only to the sense of justice of the Reichstag but to their humanity, since the poorest Jews were the ones who suffered most from this oppression.

Mannheimer was not the man who, after one fruitless attack, would shrink from another. Modest as he was, he showed unusual courage when the occasion demanded it. Once when the Archduke Ludwig Victor, then acting as regent, referred to the favors which the Jews received, he replied bluntly that the so-called favors were really acts of arbitrariness.

During a session about the budget, on October 5, objection was once more raised to the abolition of the Jewish taxes on the ground that they were not imposed upon them as a religious group but as property owners. Again Mannheimer felt himself compelled to speak. He effectually demolished this argument by showing that the Jew who gave up his faith but retained his property was free from those taxes which he had had to pay while he retained his faith. He was therefore not taxed for his property. That remained unchanged. It was the faith, which but yesterday was different, that was taxed. Furthermore, the poor Jew compelled to take chicken broth during illness had to pay a large tax for having the fowl slaughtered ritually

in accordance with Jewish law, whereas the rich baptized Jew, who no longer obeyed the ritual law, paid no such tax. Clearly, then, this was a religious tax, not a tax on property. And what of the body-tax that was still being collected from the resident non-Vienna Jews? Was that also to be considered a tax upon property?

Such irrefutable arguments undoubtedly carried conviction. Nevertheless, some of the liberal deputies remained impervious to them though they did not wish freely to avow their deep-seated prejudice. Realizing the situation, the Jews of Vienna and the Jewish communities of other important cities of the Monarchy sent delegations to Kremsier to communicate with the deputies of their own districts. On December 15, the question of making the rights and duties of citizens independent of their religion came up for discussion before the Constitutional committee. The anti-Jewish delegates then proposed that the question of Jewish emancipation be postponed and dealt with in a separate enactment. All that emancipation involved was a matter of principle. The Christian deputies therefore had no scruples about taking the floor in favor of the Jews.

Violand, always known as a man of resolution, spoke first and put himself on record as against the suggested postponement. He saw through the subterfuge of the deputies that fear of a general outcry made them wary of boldly declaring that there should be no State religion. As a matter of fact, he said, the enactment of an inevitable decree

of emancipation would also be followed by a general outburst of hostile feeling. Yet that was no reason for withholding emancipation which was absolutely necessary. On October 16, Dr. Anton Maria Pinkas of Prague defended emancipation of the Jews and vigorously contended that it should be carried out as it had been in France. It was not the place of the deputies, he argued, to be intolerant where the government had shown itself open-minded toward Jews. On the other hand, his colleague, Palacky, the noted Czech historian, was opposed to emancipation, maintaining that it would be followed by a massacre of the Jews in Prague. He suggested that the Jews be emancipated gradually, with the understanding that they were to be given full emancipation within a definite time. Nevertheless, he did not make any amendment to the proposed law. A third speaker, Lasser, later to be a Minister, declared himself, in the name of his constituency, as opposed to emancipation, but he refused to take part in the voting. A compromise was reached and found expression in the following paragraph, which was recorded: "Differences in religion form no basis for differences in the rights and duties of citizens."

During this time Dr. Joseph Goldmark, who represented the Vienna district of Schottenfeld, acted as Assistant Secretary and frequently participated in the debate. Fischhof was very active in guiding the Council of the Empire, which was the most important committee and which achieved something of permanent value in the emancipation of the peasants.

During the earliest days of the revolution, an impetuous Jewish student petitioned the Emperor to prohibit owners of hotels and other public places from discriminating against any one because of his religion. Mannheimer, who had a keen mind in political matters, uttered a specific warning against petitions of this sort. He had sounded the warning before a large gathering, for the most part of Christians, at the funeral of the fifteen victims of the revolutionary riots on March 13, among whom there were also two Jews, Heinrich Spitzer, a student of the Polytechnikum, and Bernhard Herschmann, a journeyman-weaver. All the victims were buried in a common grave.

During the burial procession, Mannheimer walked side by side with a Catholic priest. He was also granted the honor of being the first speaker from among the representatives of the various religions. It was thought this would be an effective manner of calling attention to the change in the political situation. He paid due honor to the two Jewish victims, who were shot by the military forces. "With their life and blood," he said, "they won a victory for their Fatherland which world history will immortalize in its books. They showed themselves descendants of the heroic race of Samson, Gideon, David and Jonathan." He called upon his brethren to exercise wise moderation and not to press too urgently the interests of their coreligionists. The ceremony was concluded by Cantor Sulzer and his synagogue choir who sang a Psalm, and by

a Men's Singing Society of Vienna who chanted two dirges.

Mannheimer's past experiences in the battle for Jewish rights taught him some lessons in tact. He deemed it advisable during the struggle for freedom of 1848 to place the interests of the general community in the foreground, ahead of the needs of the Jewish people. He related over the bodies of those who fell in the March Revolution that he had made up his mind to make no special request for rights to his own people and to offer no complaint for the wrongs dealt them. Yet, standing at the grave of these young men, he could scarcely avoid reminding the Christians in his audience that justice for the Jews should be close to their hearts as well. If they generously permitted these men who had died for them to lie by their own dead under ground, it was but just that they should freely grant to their Jewish fellow-citizens the right to live by their side on the soil above.

In a sermon on the 18th, however, he explicitly warned the Jews against bringing their own problems to the fore: "Not a single word about Jewish emancipation unless it be spoken on our behalf by others!" he said. "The Jews were among the first to speak up and to lead during those stormy days. They were among the first to fall upon that blood-stained spot in front of the House where the Estates of the Empire were in consultation for the common good. We have pleaded enough for thirty years on bended knee, and with hands raised up we have prayed for our rights and our status as human beings." Now,

however, he continued, the Jews must act on the assumption that "first comes the man, the citizen, and only then the Jew. No one must be able to accuse us of always thinking of ourselves first."

When the impetuous student's untimely attempt to obtain emancipation by his petition threatened to hurt the Jewish cause, Mannheimer, in a memorial address presented to the Constitutional Committee, expressed his regrets that other youthful spirits should have taken the step they did the very night after his own sermon. Nevertheless, on that very day, he deemed it his duty to join the leaders and the members of the community who were about to make representations for equal rights before the Estates of Lower Austria. The representations were delivered to the Emperor, and, as Mannheimer remarks, were accepted with the usual geniality and grace. But Mannheimer was not satisfied with a mere expression of grace. "We should not have to justify our rights on this or that ground," he said, "we have a chartered right."

Mannheimer was referring to Paragraph 16 of the Articles of Confederation of 1815. Although Metternich then was opposed to the movements in various parts of the Empire to deprive the Jews of the rights which they had "well earned," he himself, as Mannheimer charged, made no effort "to stop the abuse in his own household." Metternich, in his own defense, said: "Such abuses are to be found in every household, small or large. They must be tolerated in order to avoid greater disorders." But Mannheimer charged him with inconsistency and

pointed out that there was no more excuse for violating Article 16 than any other provision. The treatment of the Jews in Austria was not in accordance with Paragraph 16 of the Act of Confederation. Besides, if the continued enslavement of the Jews was permitted against the law, then other violations of the Act of Confederation would also take place.

Timid spirits feared that enforcement of the rights of the Jews would arouse opposition among the masses and bring on reaction. In fact, the Shoemaker's Guild openly expressed their opposition to Jewish emancipation. Such pettiness, however, was innocuous and was disregarded. But the complaints raised by a popular, reactionary anti-Jewish newspaper about "the shamelessness of Jewish literary men and journalists," were of more serious concern. Mannheimer took them up and refuted them. He called attention to Kuranda, the highly respected Jewish publicist. "The Jews destroy public credit?" Mannheimer reëchoed in amazement at the charge against them. "As a matter of fact," he went on, "it was the few wealthy Jews who, with perhaps one exception, drained themselves of all resources, so strong was their faith in the credit of the State."

Fischhof, too, considered the emancipation of the Jews as inevitable. "The burghers and students of Vienna," he said to the General Committee of the National Guard,* "thousands of whom I have had

*Mannheimer was a member of this organization and transmitted to it 2,000 gulden in the name of the Jews of Vienna for the purpose of extending aid to those wounded in the battles for freedom.

the honor to meet during the last few days, are far too noble-hearted to want to exclude the Jews, who form but one seventieth of Austria's population, from the newly-won rights of citizenship."

These expectations were too optimistic. When a committee of citizens was being formed, it was necessary to remind them that a Jew like Leopold von Wertheimstein, Rothschild's agent, Bavarian Consul, as well as a representative of the Jewish Community, ought really to be included among them. The Jews were completely disappointed with the final results of the Constitution for Austria announced on April 25. Though Article 17 granted freedom of worship and of conscience as well as personal freedom to all citizens of the State, it was virtually nullified by paragraph 27, which left for discussion in the incoming Reichstag the question of "the removal of whatever differences in civic and political rights still legally obtain with regard to certain religious professions, as well as the limitations upon the acquisition of landed estates which still have to be removed."

CHAPTER III

THE JEWS AND THE PRESS OF 1848

The fact that some Jews were connected with republican newspapers and periodicals put the public under the impression that the Jews as a whole had abused the freedom of the press. Hebbel was opposed to making Jews in general the scapegoat for the excesses of a few of their race. "These extravagant expressions," he wrote indignantly, "on the part of Jewish journalists are being used with profit by opponents of freedom of the press. Hence we can readily understand the bitterness of the friends of freedom." Such overstepping of the bounds of discretion, however, he went on, could be laid at the door of non-Jews as well. "Still, the main point is," he added, "that all of these people, Jews as well as Christians, commit a wrong against reason and history not because they are Jews or Christians, but only because they are without culture or knowledge." He thought that the mistakes Jews had made had nothing to do with the religion they professed. "Those creatures who have begun to wage war against the Jews by means of placards and handbills of a low character," he declared, "and who, with rare exceptions, seem to be lower culturally than the lowest Jew, should be able to understand this from the fact that even the most over-excited Jew has entered this struggle for no specifically

Jewish interest, but only for those interests about which all extremists are unanimous. One should therefore guard against making an entire nation responsible for the excesses of certain individuals who belong to it." Otherwise, he continued, the most uncontrollable brutalities might occur in the provinces. It was essential to guard against a revival of the Middle Ages; and to avoid drawing distinctions between Jews and Christians.

A similar stand was taken by the Archbishop of Salzburg, Cardinal Prince Friedrich Schwarzenberg. When a clerical newspaper in Salzburg published an anti-Jewish article, he summoned the editor and said to him very emphatically: "Leave the Jews in peace. Agitation against the Jews is the precursor or companion of every revolution. Anti-Jewish propaganda is directly in opposition to the fundamentals of our holy religion and brings blessings to no one, as you must know very well from the history of the Crusades. Of course, I also regret the arrogance and exaggeration of some Jewish journalists, and should wish that they would let our religion alone and grant us the toleration which we offer them. But for the excesses of individuals one must not hold an entire nation responsible. The present must never be made responsible for the past. Revenge is a pagan word. Mark that well."

His friendly attitude towards the Jew was all the more important, because he was notorious for the intolerance he had occasionally shown to Protestants. But, in his stand in behalf of the Jews, he seems to have been in thorough agreement with his

brother Felix, the dynamic Prime Minister of reactionary Austria after 1848. Felix would not countenance hostile legislation against the Jews. He said: "Ever since the time of Pharaoh, governments which persecuted the Jews suffered for it."

The republican frame of mind of these Jewish journalists was most displeasing to the highest circles at the Imperial Court and fanned their natural hatred for Jews.

JEW AS PUBLICISTS IN 1848:

L. A. FRANKL, DR. IGNAZ KURANDA, BETTY PAOLI

A curious and unusual situation presented itself in Vienna on March 16, with the removal of the censorship. A variety of printed works of a nature hitherto forbidden began to make their appearance, among which were books by Börne and Heine, as well as a large number of sheets and handbills, and caricatures, deprecating emancipation and ridiculing Jews in the Citizens' Militia. Newspapers made their appearance giving vent to hatred of the Jews. One handbill was entitled: *Anything but Jewish Emancipation! by a Friend of the Good Cause*. There were many of a similar nature; among those which attracted attention was the *Kirchenzeitung* of Sebastian Brunner, who nevertheless did not hesitate to enter into the Journalists' Club, Concordia, which consisted for the most part of Jews. That, too, was a sign of the times.

Many Jewish publicists won their spurs at the time. L. A. Frankl stood on a higher level than

most of the journalists of 1848. He was a descendant of the Frankls who attained such high reputation for piety during the expulsion of 1670. He was also connected with the Königsberg family. He served as Secretary of the Jewish Community. He was the editor of the *Oesterreichisches Morgenblatt*, and then, between 1842 and 1848, of the *Sonntagsblätter*, the best edited Vienna journal of the days before March. Lenau, Grün, Bauernfeld, Ebert and Hanslick served on the staff with him on this journal. In 1848, it brought a charge of embezzlement against Metternich. To L. A. Frankl, who is facetiously nicknamed the "necrologist," because of the piety with which he regarded the great men of the past, Vienna owes its monument to Schiller, the Beethoven monument in Heiligenstadt, as well as the statues of Gluck and Grün-Lenau. He was a friend of such celebrities as Brahms, Thorwaldsen, Hebbel, Franzos, Björnson, and Brandes. He was personally acquainted with other distinguished figures like Hammer-Purgstall, Gutzkow, Auerbach, Alexander von Humboldt and Meyerbeer. He encouraged many writers, among them Kompert. The leading figure of a highly cultured circle, he was always known among literary men as "Der Jude." He was a solitary worker, though he often collaborated with baptized Jews. His own literary merits were greatly admired, and his imposing appearance made him generally beloved. His position in the Jewish community brought him in contact with a variety of people. It was due to his efforts that the Jewish Institute for the Blind, which Empress Elizabeth subsequently

visited, was established on the *Hohe Warte*. When he was ennobled he took the title "Ritter von Hochwart" from the name of that place. His poem *Die Universität* was the first publication to appear after the censorship had been removed in 1848. It sold half a million copies and was set to music by twenty-seven composers, among them Suppé, Le-schetitsky, Berth and Frankl.

When a military court was investigating the *Leseverein* (Reading Union) to discover Kossuth's connection with it, Frankl was accused with Doblhoff and Bauernfeld of having imported gunpowder from Hungary in preparation for the 13th of March, 1848. The accusation, however, was shown to be groundless.

In 1856, he undertook a journey to the Orient under the commission of Frau Elise Hertz, née Lamel, in order to establish the *Lamel-Schule* which she was endowing in memory of her father. He wrote two narratives of his travels, *Nach Jerusalem* and *Aus Aegypten*, which have been translated into many languages and are still of value. His Anthology, *Libanon*, in which he collected selections from various poets about Jews and Judaism is a valuable work. The collection is particularly interesting as affording a view of contemporary conditions. It contains poems by many Vienna authors. He included some of the ablest writers of the pre-March period in Vienna without distinction of religion.

Ignaz Kuranda was editor of the *Grenzboten*, which was first published in Brussels in 1841 and then continued in Leipzig. He had been exiled from his

home city, Prague, because of his liberal political views. In view of the fact that the newspaper was forbidden in Austria, various subterfuges were used to import it. It found a large public and a very ready sale. No other newspaper achieved so much for the education of the Austrian public before 1848. As proof of the influence which Kuranda wielded, one need mention only the fact that he was put at the head of the committee of fifty which issued the call for the Parliament in Frankfort on the Main. Except Fischhof, no other Jew exercised more widespread influence upon the politics of Austria or wielded greater power than he.

Another journal edited by him, though it was a latecomer in the revolutionary press, was his *Ost-deutsche Post*. It was of Conservative-liberal tendencies, dignified, and therefore not very popular. Its real influence in Austria was won only after the Revolution was over. It was, in fact, the only Austrian newspaper to be read in foreign countries. Kuranda had little business-ability; moreover, his newspaper presupposed too high an intellectual level on the part of his public. What is more, he over-emphasized the German point of view for a newspaper published in Vienna. Hence, the paper lagged behind in the rapidly developing city journalism and finally was discontinued upon the appearance of the *Neue Freie Presse*.

Betty Paoli, otherwise known as Elizabeth Glück, was one of the most important Vienna women poets. As far as is known, she was born a Jewess and was so considered, notwithstanding the fact that she was

buried in a Catholic cemetery. Thrown upon her own resources since early youth, she gained her livelihood as a governess and as a writer. She knew six modern languages. For years she was the companion of Princess Lori Schwarzenberg, the widow of the victor of Leipzig. She lived in the hospitable home of the Fleischl family, in which Madam Ebner-Eschbach was an intimate. She was friendly with Grillparzer, Lenau, Bauernfeld and Joseph Wertheimer, to whom she dedicated many poems on a variety of occasions. Her first poem, *An die Männer unserer Zeit*, appeared in 1832, in *Wittauer's Wiener Zeitschrift*. Some of her poems, like *Am Versöhnungstag*, *Gruss an Israel* and others, are expressive of her Jewish feelings. She sang of disappointed love in verses so perfect in form as to be scarcely equaled by her predecessors. The poems show genuine depth of feeling based upon personal experience. The man she so hopelessly loved was a Jewish writer.*

*See Appendix N, p. 507.

BOOK VI—THE REACTION

CHAPTER I

THE FATE OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE REVOLUTIONARIES

FISCHHOF was among the deputies in the Reichstag, belonging with the University Chaplain, Fuster, to the radical Left. The masses reposed great confidence in him, but the assassination of Count Latour, the War Minister, brought about a reaction in politics.

On October 6, a crowd assembled in order to prevent the departure of the army to crush the Hungarian revolt. During the ensuing clash three Jews, Adolf Kollinsky, Emanuel Epstein and David Loeb, were killed. Finally, an attack was made upon the building of the Ministry of War. The War Minister, as a matter of fact, had just sent an order to the soldiers to withdraw from the combat, but the anger of the populace was not appeased. They uttered threats against him. Fischhof selected twenty armed citizens and made them take an oath that they would risk their lives to protect the Count. Under their guard, he made an attempt to lead the Count away. But the guard, hemmed in on all sides by the pressing crowd, could not shield him. After the very first steps he received a hammer blow upon his forehead and a bayonet-stab in his back, and fell

dead, immediately. The other Ministers succeeded in escaping. The Prime-Minister, Baron Doblhoff, was saved by Goldmark, who took him unrecognized into his own home.

This unfortunate event gave the reactionaries the signal for interference. To be sure, during the Revolution in Vienna the same deep-seated hatred against the propertied classes manifested itself as elsewhere, but the Proletariat of Vienna was not quite so class conscious as were those in more western portions of Europe. Nevertheless, the reactionaries, who had been waiting for just such an excuse, now had one. After a brave defense, Vienna was captured by the Imperial troops, who executed a number of the leaders of the revolt. Among the victims, was Hermann Jellinek, then twenty-six years old, a brother of Adolf Jellinek who at a later time was to become the glory of the Vienna Jewish Community.

Hermann Jellinek had come to Vienna only a few months previously. He was a self-taught student of philosophy and socialistic theory, and a confirmed radical. He very largely sympathized with the views of Karl Marx, who, by the way, was an eye-witness of the revolutionary event in Vienna in 1848. Expelled from Leipzig and Berlin, Jellinek returned to his home in Moravia. The news from Vienna, however, attracted him there, for he believed the city ripe for social revolutionary ideas. He began to contribute to the newspaper *Der Radikale* immediately upon his arrival. His ideas were purely theoretical and he never made any efforts to arouse

the people against the Dynasty or the Military Powers. On the contrary, he called attention in an article to the difficult position in which the soldiers were placed and issued warnings against insulting them. During the state of siege which was declared in Vienna when the Imperial troops marched in, and while the liberal journalists were being bitterly persecuted, he engaged in no public activity. This was not due to fear, for as long as there was a possibility of success, though unable to handle a weapon, he never deserted the barricade even when the bullets were flying. But he felt that he was doing his duty in the interests of democracy, in avoiding public life. Moreover, he could have avoided arrest by flight as had so many others, but he apparently preferred to be a martyr for his convictions. While he betrayed the unworldliness of the scholar, he was possessed of the eccentric intransigent consistency of a man who adheres to principle at all costs. Metternich, who after his downfall was more than ever an enemy of the democratic ideal, called Jellinek "a Jewish criminal" and approved of his execution. This does not mean that Metternich was hostile towards the Jews. He had a prejudice against them such as characterized some thoughtful Jews against some members of their own race.

The freedom of the press had been misused by Jewish mirage-hunters just as it had been by many other undisciplined persons. They thus harmed their coreligionists who were fighting for emancipation; even Jellinek himself had done some mischief by a few of his leaflets. Indeed, some radical Jews

even ridiculed religion in general, by singling out Judaism for especially unfriendly criticism. The more mature and thoughtful people had no sympathy with such a course.

And yet, one cannot excuse the military dictatorship for the execution of Jellinek. Even some reactionary voices were raised against it. He himself had not been aware that he had infringed the Draconian regulations then in force; he refused to leave Vienna. Arrested on a charge of high treason, he proved his complete innocence in the preliminary examination. Then an incriminating article in the *Radikale* was produced, which he was accused of having written, but he was able to disprove his authorship. Thereupon the Court held that he should have disavowed it. Since, however, he was not the editor of the newspaper, he had absolutely no right to do so. Moreover, during the state of siege, there were no newspapers in which such a disavowal might have been published. All this, however, did not help him in the least. His conviction had evidently been ordered by those in power. In view of the fact that a Catholic and a Protestant representative of the hated journalistic crowd had already been arrested, it seemed essential also to apprehend a Jew. That, at any rate, is what Bauernfeld, the Vienna poet, states was the prevalent opinion. That is how religious equality was to be established.

Hartmann and Fischhof could not be found and therefore Jellinek had to serve as a sacrifice for Judaism. Proper justice, as administered in Prussia

in the case of Jakoby, the well known Jewish fighter for progress, would have permitted Jellinek to be set at liberty; at most sent off with a timely warning as a harmless fool. Instead, he was condemned to death by hanging, as was the custom; but for lack of a hangman, was "granted the favor" of being shot. This was not legal judgment; it was political murder.

During the night before the execution, Jellinek received a visit from the Jewish prison chaplain. The prisoner sent a message to his father, attempting to comfort him with a philosophy of life which his own study of Spinoza and Hegel had taught him. He wrote that events of necessity happen as they do, and that every transitional period requires its victims. His death was no less horrible than was his conviction. He went to his execution calmly, but the bullets of the firing squad did not finish their work. He writhed in pain until the commanding officer freed him from his agony by a shot at close range. Thus ended the life of a brilliant but unsteady and not altogether fully adjusted human being. At least the authorities did not prohibit an impressive funeral.

The cast of mind of this unfortunate young man was symptomatic of that of other Jewish revolutionists of the time. His fate is illustrative of the hostility of the ruling circles toward the Jewish people in general—a hostility intensified because of the radicalism of some of them.

The Reichstag, which was in session at the Episcopal Moravian city of Kremsier since November 22,

had completed its deliberations on the Constitution. The final draft was to be accepted in a plenary session. The various races under the rule of the Hapsburgs—Czechs, Poles, Slovenes and Italians—had succeeded by this Constitution in achieving of their own free will a unity such as was never again achieved in any other way. Unfortunately, in view of the fact that the Revolution had been put down, the Crown, the nobility, and the Church now felt themselves restored to their full powers. They, therefore, rejected the limitations upon their power contained in the draft of the new Constitution, and stepped forward ready for further conflict with the forces that had created it.

At the head of the new government, stood the trusted advisers of Francis-Joseph, Prince Windisch-Gratz and his brother, Prince Felix Schwarzenberg. The former, whose wife had been shot by one of the insurgents in the course of the uprising in Prague, was the conqueror of Vienna. They both regarded the deputies of the Reichstag as "a miserable lot, dangerous men and bad subjects." In a letter to Schwarzenberg, Windisch-Grätz called the noble Fischhof a "scoundrel," responsible for the political murder of some important army officers in Hungary. The new government decided to prorogue the Reichstag even before it had a chance to complete the Constitution, and to put the radical members in prison. When their intention became known in Kremsier, the deputy Neuwall, a descendant of one of the leaders of the Jewish community in Vienna, attempted to act as intermediary between the

Reichstag and the government. He suggested that the Constitution promised by the former Emperor for March 15, 1848, should be sworn to by the new Emperor on March 15, 1849. The liberal Minister of the Interior was in favor of this. But on March 7, the Reichstag was nevertheless forcibly prorogued and some of the deputies who had not escaped were escorted to Vienna under military guard and thrown into prison. Among them was Fischhof.

Fischhof could not be persuaded to flee although all avenues had been left open for him. He declared: "If I remain, the Military Court may condemn me; if I flee, public opinion surely will condemn me. The choice is not hard. I remain." He was taken from bed in Kremsier to a police station in Vienna and on March 13, exactly a year after his first appearance upon the political stage, he was turned over to the Military Court.

Only one man had the courage publicly to call attention to Fischhof's achievements. This was Ignaz Kuranda in his *Ostdeutsche Post*. Among other qualities of Fischhof, he pointed out his unselfishness. Although Fischhof held the fate of Vienna and all of Austria in his hands for weeks, he did not take the time even to dress in a manner becoming his position, but because of pressure of work, appeared in his uniform of a member of the Legion.

Fischhof and Goldmark, who escaped, were accused of high treason and of conspiracy in the murder of Count Latour. Goldmark was not fated to return until 1882 after he had been freed of the

charge. As to Fischhof, all the witnesses testified in his favor. Deputies who had worked with him resolutely defended him. Nevertheless, he was not released from prison until after an investigation lasting three-quarters of a year. He was freed "because of insufficient evidence" and was barred from all further political activity. It became difficult for him to find employment. One of his admirers, however, Gustav Figdor, placed a sum of money at his disposal so that he was enabled to establish himself as a practicing physician in Vienna.

THE "OFFICIAL" CONSTITUTION OF FRANCIS JOSEPH I

At the same time that the Reichstag was dismissed, an official Constitution was proclaimed, drafted by Count Stadion and bearing the date of March 4. Francis on his accession to the throne had added to his name that of Joseph, his noble ancestor Joseph II. That he did so because of his sympathy for him, as has often been supposed, is extremely doubtful, for it is reliably stated that he was no great admirer of Joseph II. Since the name of Joseph was upon many people's lips during the March and October revolutions, the liberal circles saw a favorable omen when the new monarch took the name. The official constitution in some respects even approached the legislation of Joseph II. Its first paragraph read as follows: "The enjoyment of civil and political rights does not depend upon religious confession."

To the Jews this new grant of equality was of the utmost importance, as it enabled them to own

real estate and enter into any legally permitted occupation. That the official Jewish population of nearly 4,000 which inhabited Vienna in 1846 increased to 9,000 by 1849, was due to the fact that Jews in Vienna no longer had to conceal themselves if they did not have permission to live there. It must be borne in mind that down to 1848 Jews were not permitted to reside at all in certain sections of modern Austria, such as Steiermark, Kärnten, Tyrol and Upper Austria, and not even in Lower Austria, except in Vienna and the neighboring districts where they were tolerated. In all these places Jewish communities now came into existence, while the Vienna community increased rapidly. In 1846, it consisted of 197 tolerated families and 3,739 individuals. By 1850, its population was 9,731, and in 1854, it had between 14,000 and 15,000 Jews. Thanks to this liberty of immigration, new forces began to operate in Vienna's Jewry which gradually transformed its character.

The official Constitution aroused a great deal of joy among the Jews of Vienna. By a happy coincidence it had been proclaimed about the time of the Purim holidays. On April 3, the Emperor admitted the Representatives of the Jewish Community of Vienna to an audience and received from them an address of thanks. In reply, he said: "It gives me pleasure to accept the expression of the true devotion and loyalty which you extend to me in the name of the Israelite community. Through the extension of equal rights to all peoples and races, whom the Constitution granted by me unites into

a great and mighty Empire, I firmly believe that the welfare and good fortune of each and all is permanently assured and that this will bring fruitful results."

It was all quite in the spirit of the brave old Field-Marshal Radetzky, who had already announced his own view that it was to the interest of the government "to win over a class which by reason of its intelligence and wealth exerts so great an influence." Even at a later date, at the time of the Reaction, he continued to be in favor of the civil equality of the Jews.

The words of the Emperor were of particular importance in both a historical and political sense, because for the first time the word "community," hitherto forbidden, was officially used to describe the Jews of Vienna. Just how sincere the Emperor was in this progressive step is clear from a ministerial edict issued by the Ministry for Worship and Education on August 26. "It is the official wish that every right granted by His Majesty be realized as soon as possible and in every respect, with regard to all recognized religions." At the same time the Minister of Justice Schmerling alluded to the equal rights granted to the Jews, in a State paper of November 18, in which mixed marriages between Jews and Christians were legally recognized. He announced that the Jews were citizens of the Empire and specifically gave them the right to acquire landed estates. The Minister of Agriculture, however, still excluded the Jews from mine-owning. He wanted

as he explained, to protect "the interests of mine and foundry owners against the seductions of greedy speculators of the Jewish faith!"

Some Jews at once turned to agriculture while others took up professions like medicine, for they now had a chance of being appointed to government office. Moreover, many Jews moved into those Crown-lands where formerly they were permitted to reside only in specified places.

The officials of the Jewish Community of Vienna then drew up a set of by-laws. These laws have remained in force to the present day. The community is completely autonomous. The Israelite community of Vienna, according to these regulations, is a religious organization and not a political union. The executive officials consist of five representatives and fifteen councilors, but they receive no compensation. The officers have full power over the community and can regulate all matters of religion in accordance with their own judgment. To become a member of the community, one must pay the stipulated religious tax. Only members of the community have a right to vote. Down to 1848, an official of the police and a supervisor of schools were present at every examination in the Jewish religious schools. This act of intervention was discontinued on July 3, 1849. In August, 1850, the officers and representatives of the religious community of Israelites submitted the draft of these by-laws to the authorities. It was not till January 14, 1852, that they accepted it, and even then, "provisionally."

In the meantime, the political situation within the Empire, and therefore also the situation of the Jews in Austria, had completely changed.

Even while the official Constitution was being proclaimed, the inconsiderate and thoroughly reactionary military government maintained a state of siege. Despite all promises, no representatives of the people were called together. Political trials continued endlessly. Even so mild a newspaper as Kuranda's *Ostdeutsche Post* was prohibited, and though it was permitted to resume after a short time, it had to omit Kuranda's name as editor. Certain regulations dating from the time of Joseph II were discontinued in order to enlarge the powers of the clergy. Many people were forced into the army "as a matter of punishment." Even earlier the eighteen year old Joseph Wertheimer had been compelled to don a uniform because his father had opposed a certain powerful police official. Yet Wertheimer's conscription violated a decree of 1794, according to which the sons of those honored by the government were free from military service, for the elder Wertheimer was a privileged wholesale merchant. Nor was the fact that Joseph was found to be physically unfit when he was examined in the Armory, taken into consideration. It took nine months of effort to have him released. He performed service in the National Guard, however, in 1848, thirty years later, thus proving that he would have been the last one to refuse to defend his fatherland. The Jewish poet Moritz Hartmann called the Austria of pre-revolutionary days a slave-

galley laden with unfortunate nations who could free themselves only if the ship struck a rock. The attitude of Minister Unger is also apparent from his remark: "I came into the world in 1817, but only in 1848 did I see the world's light." L. A. Frankl greeted the Revolution with the following biblical verse: "And it was evening and it was morning, the first day."

The tendency toward Absolutism in the government became supreme. On December 31, 1852, shortly after the *coup d'état* of Napoleon III in France, Francis Joseph rescinded all the liberties granted in 1849. Indeed, the Emperor went even farther than his Ministers, who wanted to retain the emancipation of the Jews, but he personally set it aside. In this he was obviously under the influence of his mother, who had become uncompromisingly absolutist after her experience in 1848, and under that of Cardinal Rauscher, his former teacher, the only anti-Jewish archbishop in Vienna in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the responsibility for the act must rest solely upon the Emperor, for in this one respect he wanted to be his own Minister. In later days, he made ample atonement for this step.

As in France during the period of the Directorate, so at this time in Austria a propertied middle-class came to the foreground. It became easier to obtain landed estates. The unification of the various parts of the Monarchy in one customs-union was beneficial to the manufacturer. Freedom of trade proved of advantage to the great business enterprises. Capital-

ists arose who purchased noble estates and succeeded in entering the aristocracy, for the obtaining of titles of nobility was now facilitated. Among these ennobled capitalists, there were naturally some prosperous Jews. This brought about a situation whereby the Jewish owner of an estate became the patron of the churches which were situated in his domain. Naturally, the clergy resented this and came to entertain great animosity towards the Jews. In addition, another class, the manual laborers and small merchants, felt bitter towards the Jews because of the competition. The officials of Lemberg wanted to forbid the Jews to carry on any business outside of the ghetto. The officials of Prague raised objections to the inclusion of the Jewish community of the ghetto within the general civic community. Palacky, the Czech historian and politician, endorsed their stand.

THE REVOCATION OF JEWISH RIGHTS

The reaction which set in soon deprived the Jews of all that they had gained since 1848, and even of some of the rights which had been granted them previously. They were once more forbidden to own landed estates, though those who had already obtained estates were permitted to retain them. The medieval law against having Christian servants was reenacted. The celebration of a marriage was again only allowed by the consent of government officials. The Jews were excluded from public office and from the teaching profession. Many were thus driven to baptism, which seemed the only way out. A greater

cleavage than had existed before 1848 now became apparent between the social position and the legal status of the Jewish people.

It is necessary to review the situation since the Act of Confederation of the year 1815, when the Jews were promised civil rights on the general principle that equal duties presupposed equal rights. At that time Prussia was the only State which to a large extent put this theory into practice. Austria joined Prussia and added the stipulation that "where the constitutions were opposed to this Reform, the rulers of the country must take it upon themselves to remove every obstacle to its realization." In the fifth conference on May 31, 1815, both governments had agreed "that the principles to be derived from the general statement of policy were not to be referred to Frankfort", that is, to the Parliament that was to be called there, "but were to be decided upon in Vienna." More specifically, it had been agreed that "the Jews were to be granted by the States of the Union those civic rights which correspond to their civic duties."

All the attempts of the Jews to invoke this decision before 1848 remained fruitless. The chicaneries with which the police interfered in every household became intolerable. In 1820, for example, they permitted Rabbi Moses Fischer to have only one maid and then only until his daughter became old enough to take care of the housekeeping. Rabbi Moses was a man of some importance. He came from a well known family of Prague, was a correspondent of Moses Mendelssohn, and performed

rabbinical functions in the Vienna community over a period of twenty years, up to 1827. The cantor Koppel Markbreiter and another official of the religious community were likewise ordered to dismiss their maids though they were not Christians. In 1824, one of the tolerated Jews gave up his toleration because he could not pay the high taxes. In 1835, the communal Representatives presented their grievances to the Emperor in a petition, calling attention to the decision of the Congress of Vienna and to the promise of equal rights made in 1797. They stated that they now were sufficiently "educated," for the government had once refused to remove legal limitations upon the Jews on the ground that they were "educational laws."

In 1836, they again complained that they were being treated like foreigners and not like subjects of the Emperor. They pointed out that when enemies surrounded the State on every side, they assumed all the responsibilities of citizens although having no rights as such. However, beginning with 1837, the requirement to renew toleration every two or three years was withdrawn. Toleration became a lifelong privilege and was inherited by the widow and the oldest son.*

*Incidentally, no tolerated Jew ever lost his privilege because of some unworthy act. Attempts were made to deprive members of tolerated Jewish families of their rights, because of business reverses. When a widow was being deprived of her right of residence in Vienna because the death of her husband had forced his business to close, the Representatives of the Community interceded in her favor. When a daughter of Moses Koblenzer lost her right of residence because her father's fortune had been

After 1848, petitions for rights continued. The Representatives again presented a petition for equality of rights in 1852, before the Minister Bach who, on account of an erroneous statement of Bismarck, has been reputed to be of Jewish descent. They pointed out that according to a seventy year old decree, Jewish wholesale merchants were entitled to equal rights with all others. They called attention to the generous treatment of Jews in the Catholic States of Belgium and France. They contrasted the situation in France, where a Jewish colonel might belong even to the General Staff, and in Austria, where the greatest scholar could not be appointed to a scientific post, which was accounted a State office, unless he underwent baptism. In 1853, the president of the Jewish community made further efforts in behalf of the Jews to obtain the right of property ownership, and once more he had recourse to the promise of equal rights for all Austrians made by the Emperor in 1797. Soon thereafter, he lodged a protest with the governor against the anti-Semitic articles in the *Oesterreicher Zuschauer*, and in 1855 against those in the *Wiener Courier*. The fact is that the attitude of the government actually encouraged journalistic attacks upon the Jews.

wiped out by the reduction in the value of paper money and through no fault of his own, the Representatives took her part. They pointed out that the tolerated Jews were legally in the same position as people of rank, and that, therefore, the laws of inheritance ought to be the same in both cases. In the case of the nobility there was no distinction in the laws of inheritance between a son and a daughter.

WHAT BECAME OF FISCHHOF?

Even after Fischhof had been freed from prison, he still suffered the loss of his civic rights so that he could not engage actively in political life. Full amnesty was granted him only in 1867, when it was supposed that he could again become politically useful. At the time of his release, however, in 1849, he remained almost without means. Had not Gustav Figdor extended him aid, his condition would have been tragic. But he was now enabled to establish a medical practice. For some time he was the assistant physician in the hospital of the Jewish community and also lived in the house adjoining on the Seitenstettengasse. Because of the political suspicions under which he lived, his efforts to obtain the vacant place of head physician remained fruitless. He enjoyed a considerable private practice, but a nervous malady eventually forced him to give it up. His political abilities, however, were not forgotten.

In 1860, Austria was about to become a constitutional State once more. The so-called "October Decree" laid the cornerstone for a constitution; the "February Patent," 1861, was a further step in this direction. But in 1865, constitutional development was once more checked until the unfortunate issue of the War of 1866 at last brought about a firm liberal government. With it came an amnesty which removed every disability from Fischhof and left the way open for him to enter one of the legislative bodies. In 1870, he was even offered a portfolio

as Minister of Conciliation, whose duty was to reconcile to Austria the various nations within its borders. Fischhof, however, was convinced that the happiness of the various nations could not be attained by making Austria the dominating province of the Empire, as was the ideal of the German liberals. His own view was that the respective nations must retain their identity and that the empire would function best if they were united into a confederation. He therefore refused the position although he might have been able to carry out his own views had he taken it. It may be that his refusal was due to his health or to unwillingness to give up his Jewish faith. No Jew could take a ministerial post, for as a confidential counselor of the Emperor he had to take an oath of office in such terms as only a professing believer in Christianity could assume.

Despite his illness at the time, he was receiving numerous visitors anxious to obtain his valuable political advice. To the Seitenstettengasse came ministers and even prime ministers, as well as those who had the ambition of becoming such. Among these were the Counts Potocki, Beust, and Taaffe, Prince Czartoryski, and others. He himself was active only with his pen, though he never accepted compensation for his articles.

Suddenly, he suffered a severe blow. As a result of the panic of 1873 and a chain of circumstances connected with it, he lost all his savings, though he had never speculated. Unable further to maintain himself in the costly surroundings of the capital,

he removed to a village in Carinthia, the village of Emmersdorf, which he made famous. Here a brother and several loyal friends protected him from want. He continued to be the political adviser of numerous statesmen for two decades.

Bitter experience was not spared him even now. Upon his seventieth birthday, the City Council of Vienna wanted to send him congratulations. But the proposal was defeated because of the objections of the liberals, among whom there were some Jews. These narrow ideologists could not bear to go beyond the bounds of partisan politics. They could not forgive Fischhof for his political opposition and for his stand that Austria should become a national State on the model of Switzerland, while they were demanding the preponderance of the German element in the Austrian government. Doctor Lueger, later a burgomaster and leader of the anti-Semitic forces, supported the proposal for honoring Fischhof. "No one of the gentlemen present in this hall is fit to carry water for Fischhof," he told the liberals in the Council, "and there is no one living who can equal him in political experience, in service to the city of Vienna, and in integrity of character." A newspaper of Prague wrote disdainfully of Vienna, saying that it could greet Moses Montefiore upon his hundredth anniversary, some unimportant Bohemian politician upon his sixtieth, but found that she could do nothing for a man like Fischhof.

Only once more did Fischhof appear in public, and that was in 1882, at a meeting to organize a party in accordance with his ideas. The meeting

was broken up by National Germans whose leaders were two young Jews later baptized, one the historian Friedjung and the other a man destined to become a leader of the Social Democratic Party. Time was to take revenge for this, for had Fischhof and his ideas prevailed, the World War might have been avoided and Austria-Hungary might have remained intact.

CHAPTER II

THE JEWS IN ECONOMIC LIFE DURING THE PERIOD OF REACTION

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN VIENNA

When Austria, in the first half of the nineteenth century, found itself in a chronic state of financial difficulties, it became dependent upon loans or rather upon bankers, who had control of capital in all its international ramifications. That is why the National Bank dealt mostly with Vienna firms. During the first half of the nineteenth century, it had no branches in the provincial cities. Its credit was extended to bankers in Vienna who, on good collateral, would hand the gold over to branches of their banks in the provinces or use it for purposes of speculation. Here, then, was another way in which the provinces were made dependent upon Vienna, not only politically but financially as well. Beginning with 1840, the financial administration of Kolowrat and Eichhoff entrusted the monetary interests of the State to Eskeles and Pereira and to two Christian firms. By means of the discounting powers of the National Bank, these finance ministers brought about an unsound business policy. At the same time, this Bank had to buy in the paper money of the State and to discount the certificates of the State Treasury. Moreover, the limitless military expenditures had to be combatted. In the end,

when Kubeck took over the administration of the finances, he stopped working with private banks. The result was the breakdown of two of the most important houses. This sad state of Austrian finances naturally forced upon Jewish as well as non-Jewish financiers an important rôle in State economy.

Under Maria Theresa, the bankers of the government were mostly Swiss firms. During the Napoleonic Wars, the Swiss firm Fries and Geymüller and the Greek firm Sina shared the financial undertakings of Austria with the Jewish firm of Arnstein and Eskeles.* To the firms mentioned above, that of Rothschild was subsequently added. Jewish bankers did not take the first place in Austrian finances till after 1815. Following the Rothschilds, came the firms of Königswarter and Todesco. With the exception of the Rothschilds, the Jewish banks either declined in importance or completely broke down in the second or third generation. As a matter of fact, the same can be said about the large fortunes in Italy. It seems that a fortune could be maintained only when part of it was represented by landed estates.

*In 1809, the French occupied Vienna and attempted to exact as much money as possible from its inhabitants. At the time, a certain Charles (Schulmeister) was Napoleon's spy and, as Chief of Police, sold certificates of residence at a high price to some foreign Jews. At that time, too, the firm of Arnstein and Eskeles was among the Austrian volunteers to pay a very large sum of money to the French in order to lighten the burden imposed by the invaders upon the citizens of Vienna.

The rise of these Jewish financial powers contributed to the increase of hatred for the Jews. For the growth of financial power followed hard upon the growth of Jewish influence in commerce and industry, such as had taken place in the provinces, especially in those of the South. Jewish financial power reached its highest point in the year 1855, with the founding of the Kreditanstalt which lasted until its recent tragic dissolution. But almost immediately thereafter, Jewish financial power suffered a serious blow in the widespread European crisis of 1857, as a result of which Austrian economy suffered and Germany outstripped it.

Something must be said about the general condition of the Jews in Austrian economy during the period now under consideration. Ever since wholesale merchandising and industry were permitted to the Jews, they established large woolen factories in Bohemia and Moravia. They showed themselves very efficient in handling the export trade. They made the profits of the government from tobacco rise considerably. This business had its origin with the government councilor Israel Hönigsberg, and owed its development in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia to Joachim Popper, Solomon Dobruschka and other Jewish lessees. Jews also successfully cultivated the trade in gallnuts, potash, honey, wax, etc. In Hungary and on the military frontier, the Jews established the silk-raising industry. In the immediate vicinity of Vienna, they were instrumental in developing factories for silk, cotton, woolens, laces, leather, snuff, a gallnut mill and a

steam-driven mill, as well as the only steam factory for the manufacture of chocolate in Austria. In Trieste, there was a pitch factory and a soap factory. In Bohemia, Jews were employed in the cotton, leather, worsted yarn, and fancy goods industries (for which they built factories), and in home-weaving and as goldsmiths. They were also interested in oil and sugar refining, furniture-making and carpentry. The fur and jewel business of Vienna, Bohemia and Moravia, and even of the chief trade centers of Germany, lay in Jewish hands. The fact that the general welfare of the people increased rather than diminished in spite of the wars, in spite of the bankruptcy of the State in 1811, and in spite of the years of famine in 1816 and 1817, must be ascribed to the industry of the Jews. The commercial balance sheet of the provinces in which Jews lived was an active one, whereas in those crown lands such as Styria and Tyrol, where Jews could not reside, the trade balance was passive.

THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS FROM 1848 TO 1859

The year 1848 brought business to the coffee houses, to the newspaper printers, and to the manufacturers of uniforms; but in general, commercial enterprise was at a standstill. The peasant buried his gold, the manual worker received no orders, the shop-keeper and the small business man and even the wholesaler earned almost nothing. After the revolution had been put down, business began to make some headway. This was true especially in Hungary.

The reason for the renewed activity was partly the introduction of the railroad, and the consequent influx of buyers from the provinces. Important too was the number of new business enterprises, since there was no longer any restriction upon founding them. Many small business undertakings moved from Hungary into Vienna, which now became the center of activity in the Monarchy. It seems that business could be started most easily and profitably in the capital.

It soon became apparent that while business undertakings had increased in numbers, competition had grown out of all due proportion, so that business did not pay so well. The revolution had destroyed capital and had created no new resources. Merchants had to operate with borrowed money and suffered under the high rates of interest. It was to meet their demands that the *Escomptegesellschaft* of Lower Austria was called into being in 1855. The same was true about the establishment of the *Kreditanstalt für Handel und Gewerbe* modeled after the *Crédit Mobilier*. The purpose was to muster small capital in a struggle against high finance. At the head of the *Kreditanstalt* stood Prince Schwarzenberg. But it was soon discovered that there was less of such small capital in Vienna than one had supposed. Consequently the bank did not prosper for a decade. Both these banks were unable to forestall the bankruptcy of several firms, among them two Jewish ones. The catastrophic effect of these bankruptcies revealed the unsound basis of Vienna economic life. Hardly had signs of recovery begun

to appear in 1858 when, in the next year, the once leading banking house of Vienna, Arnstein and Eskeles, failed. To some extent this was due to the anti-Austrian attitude of Napoleon III, but whatever the causes of the failure, its results were an ominous disturbance in the Vienna market. Nor could these bankers be accused of being mere speculators. The junior partner of the firm had helped build the Venice-Milan railroad, whereas Italian stockbrokers as well as the Archduke Francis Karl, father of Francis Joseph, were among those who merely speculated in its securities. On the whole, the textile business came out the poorer during this period, while the produce and wool business improved.

CHAPTER III

VIENNESE JEWS IN MUSIC, ART, AND ON THE STAGE

MANY Viennese Jews made notable contributions in the field of music. Ignaz Moscheles of Prague studied music in Vienna and received encouragement from Meyerbeer. In 1816, he wrote a sonata which he dedicated to the Cardinal-Archduke Rudolph, with whom he frequently performed. The Austrian nobility as a whole were greatly devoted to the study of music. Moscheles was one of the most beloved musicians and music teachers and was acquainted with Clementi, Schubert and Beethoven, whose *Fidelio* he arranged in part for the piano. He wrote his famous *Studien für das Pianoforte* while in London, and in general did much to spread the knowledge of classic German music in England. One of his pupils in Leipzig was Mendelssohn. Having worked for twenty years as Professor at the London Musical Academy, he was called to the Conservatory at Leipzig in 1846, where he remained until his death in 1850.

Karl Goldmark was one of twenty-four children of a Cantor in a small Hungarian community. He was a brother of Joseph Goldmark, who was so active in the politics of 1848. In 1847, he became a pupil at the Conservatory of Vienna and for a long time was violinist at the Carltheater, where Offen-

bach achieved his first successes and prepared the way for the development of the Viennese operetta. Goldmark began giving piano lessons in 1859. He first became known for the Overture to *Sakuntala*, but he gained his world fame by the opera, the *Queen of Sheba*, the libretto of which was written by Mosenthal. It was produced at the Vienna Court Opera House in 1875, only after an order from the Emperor. Presumably, the fact that the composer's brother had engaged in revolutionary activities militated against the production of the opera. In 1896, his *Heimchen am Herd* appeared. Aside from some smaller compositions, these are the only operas of his which are still produced.

Along with Goldmark must be mentioned Ignaz Brüll. He composed the opera, *Das goldene Kreuz*, and again it was Mosenthal who wrote the text. In 1875, it was successfully produced in England. He was the pupil of Julius Epstein, who was an able piano teacher, the best player of Mozart, and a coworker in the general edition of Schubert's works. Epstein's most famous pupil was Gustav Mahler, the director of the Vienna Court Opera. Alfred Grünfeld in his interpretations of Schubert attained to a popularity which rivaled that of Sonnenthal.

Jacob M. Grün was the Concert Master at the Court Opera and Professor at the Academy of Music. Ludwig Engländer introduced in America the Viennese operetta, a form of musical art which began in Vienna with the presentation of Offenbach's *Tschin Tschin* in 1860.

Court Councilor David Popper, a cellist, was the Concert Master at the Vienna Court Opera. Heinrich Herz was a piano virtuoso toward the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1861, Karl Taussig directed some of the most difficult orchestral works. He was recommended to Russia by Richard Wagner, from whose works he had successfully arranged selections for the piano and whom he and other Jews had assisted during Wagner's stay in Vienna in 1848. Sigismund Bachrich belonged to the orchestra of the Court Opera and later became Professor at the Conservatory. J. R. Lewy played the French horn and was appointed to the Opera in 1826. He was the younger brother of Edward Constantine Lewy. The last-named took part in the Waterloo campaign as a member of the band of the French Guard. Subsequently, he became director of the regimental orchestra. In 1822, he was appointed a member of the Vienna Court Orchestra, and in 1833, Professor of the French horn at the Conservatory. He used to give concerts at which his children played, his son Charles on the piano, Richard on the French horn, and his daughter Melanie on the harp. These concerts were very popular.

Jews produced a long list of painters, some very notable, like Horowitz, Isidor Kaufmann and David Kohn. Then there was the miniature portraitist Fischer (nicknamed "*The Bocher*") of Pressburg, who painted members of the Berger family, and Guido Adler, Professor of the History of Music at the University. Solomon (?) Rappaport painted

Sonnenthal. E. Lichtenstern left a portrait of Julius Lemberger, an agent of Rothschild on the Exchange. At the home of Joseph Wertheimer one might have met many Jewish and non-Jewish artists, among them the painter Leopold Pollak, a cousin and a fellow-countryman of L. A. Frankl. Friedrich Friedländer painted Vienna life, and made a specialty of portraits of invalids, and was therefore nicknamed "*Invaliden-Friedlander*." He was a cofounder of a fellowship of artists. He was ennobled as von Malheim. Vater was likewise a recognized painter. Gutmann and Joseph Engel were known as sculptors. Ehrenreich and Ignaz Kraus were famed as engravers.

Nor have the Jews been behind in bringing honor to the stage. At first actors were not highly regarded. When, during the reign of Francis I, the portrait of the famous actor Iffland was copied for the theatrical gallery in Vienna from the Berlin original, the censorship ordered that the red Order of the Eagle which Iffland wore on the portrait be removed. That an actor should be the recipient of an Order was something unheard of in Vienna.

The Jews were the first to dispel the prejudice that existed against the stage. Baron Schey, of a well-known Hungarian Jewish family, was the first to show a deep interest in actors. He was a true friend of Laube, the Director of the Burgtheater. When Laube's relations with this theater were severed, Schey helped him financially as well as with his valuable advice in the establishment and direction of the Stadttheater. Baron Max Springer,

a well known distiller, was an intimate of La Roche, an actor at the Burgtheater, for whom he built a villa on the Grundselsee. La Roche regarded Jews and Frenchmen as the most zealous and attentive theater-goers.

There were many Jewish stars in the Vienna theater, among them Dawison, Sonnenthal, and Zerline Gabillon, born Würzburg. The last named was in the Burgtheater in Vienna from 1853 to 1890. At the Court Opera were to be found Rosa Czillag (Stern), Karoline Bettelheim, afterwards the wife of the industrialist Julius Gompertz; Rosa Schwarz and Theresa Schwarz, both born in Vienna and residents there during the middle of the century; but above all the great singer Pauline Lucca, who was at the Court Opera between 1874 and 1888, of which she was the honored member. Kathi Frank (really Frankl) performed at the Stadttheater; Siegwart Friedmann performed at the Stadttheater between 1872 and 1876 and was founder of the Deutsches Theater in Berlin in 1883; Emerich Robert acted at the Stadttheater between 1872 and 1874 and was stage-manager at the Burgtheater till 1899; Ascher acted at the Quaitheater between 1860 and 1863 and was Director of the Carltheater between 1866 and 1872; Hermine Delia-Claar (real name Delicat), who was born in Vienna, was a pupil of Lewinsky. In 1868, she was hailed in the rôles of an elegant Salon Lady and of a piquant heroine. Her sister Regine was also an actress at the Burgtheater and the Carltheater. She also was to some extent engaged in writing and was married to Max

Friedländer, the editor. Her daughter became known as a poet. Sigmund Johann Friedmann worked by the side of Dawison in 1864 in Vienna. He became a teacher of dramatics at the Vienna Conservatory. He married Helene Racowitza, who was loved by Lassalle and who later committed suicide in New York.

ADOLF SONNENTHAL

No Jewish actor ever received such measureless general respect and affection, admiration and honor, as did Adolf Sonnenthal, the greatest actor on the German stage. He made the Burgtheater of Vienna an institution of the utmost importance in the life of its citizens, whose point of view had broadened because of the influence of the Jews and the free Press. This theater was the pride of Vienna, which was at the time the theatrical capital of the German nation. To Sonnenthal was due the great esteem in which it was held. "He knew how," the painter Karl Buchholz once said about him. It was an apt expression in its finest sense.

Music, Medicine, the Mimetic art, the Museums, and the Monumental glory of public and private buildings are the features—the five M's—which exemplify the cosmopolitan character of the city. They also reveal to what an extent the Jews have been a factor in their development. Yet the name of no Jew participating in the growth of any phase of the city's arts has so reëchoed throughout the world as did that of Sonnenthal.

He arrived in Vienna in 1850, at the age of sixteen, to become a tailor's apprentice, but was already determined to go on the stage. At the time, Dawison, also a Jew, was in the midst of his triumphant career at the Burgtheater making a reputation for himself as one of the greatest tragedians of all time. Dawison's triumphs confirmed Sonnenthal in his ambitions. Soon Laube, the director of the Burgtheater, discovered him and engaged him. For six years he appeared in various cities. An epigrammatic sentence from a letter which he wrote at this time to one of his friends reveals the entire personality of the man. "Difficult as it is to be a good actor among such people, it is even more difficult to be a good man among such actors." Finally he attained his goal and came on the stage of Vienna. He took the public by storm, especially by his modern conversational pieces. In 1870, he was appointed stage-manager and in 1881, chief stage-manager. As Vienna's foremost actor, he was at the same time raised to nobility. What a contrast with the judgment of Francis I regarding Iffland and his Order! From 1886 to 1890, he was the director of the theater. He created in his *Wallenstein* one of the most significant characterizations on the modern stage, but he was especially in his element when portraying Nathan the Wise. He gave performances in Germany and in Russia, where he stressed his Jewish birth, and on three different occasions in America. He died in 1909. A short time previously

he had written to me about his preparation for the rôle of Shylock. He had always participated unselfishly and zealously in Jewish affairs of public interest. His last will contained these words, "I have lived as a Jew and want to be buried as such."*

*See Appendix O, p. 516. For Jews in medicine, the natural sciences, etc., see Appendix P, p. 518.

CHAPTER IV

JEWS IN JOURNALISM AFTER 1848

THE Viennese journalists possessed unusual courage. In the days of the Reaction, under the pressure of the Concordat, a mere phrase disliked by the censorship sufficed to have the newspaper suspended and author and editor thrown into prison or expelled from Vienna, with confiscation of their property.

Before 1848, Jews played a small rôle in Viennese journalism. They found no place until 1867 in the official *Wiener Zeitung* which had a continuous existence since 1703. Eduard Mautner contributed to the *Wanderer* which, though established as early as 1809, led a shadowy existence until the year of the Revolution. Mautner also produced many plays, including *Eglantine*. There were Frankl's *Sonntagsblätter*, begun in 1841, and Saphir's *Humorist*, on a much lower plane, edited by baptized Jews. The year of the Revolution has already been discussed. Let us see how Jewish journalists fared thereafter.

From 1848 on, economic conditions were deplorable, one crisis following another, and the financial situation was insecure. In the fifties, the loss in exchange amounted to seventy per cent. The police department blamed everything on the Exchange. The Bourse was placed under police supervision and an inspector was put in charge of the securities market. The government in turn blamed the brokers

for the inactivity on the Bourse. "If our Minister of Foreign Affairs were a minister in a foreign country," Königswarter replied on one occasion, "we should have better rates of exchange." To another minister he said, "You are like the man who breaks the thermometer because the temperature refuses to rise."

Of all the reforms of 1848 none survived but the abolition of the serfs and their detachment from the soil. The government did not dare to interfere with these reforms because it feared the peasantry. Nevertheless, after 1858, the noble landowners again looked forward to the reestablishment of their patrimonial powers. The government also sought to compel the individual communities to pay the expenses of the army and of the local administration—a measure which they strongly resisted. The schools were completely in the power of the Church. In 1859, the Jewish Community of Vienna resolutely opposed the reactionary demand of the government to establish a separate Jewish School. Eventually such a school was opened, the *Talmud Torah Schule*, which was supported by the government.

Under such circumstances, few journalists dared to express themselves in favor of the freedom of the press. Yet, among six of the early advocates three were Jews: Frankl, Fischhof and Kuranda. They were joined by O. B. Friedmann and Dr. Theodor Mannheimer, the son of Isaac Noah Mannheimer. Dr. Mannheimer was at first a lawyer, then a journalist; he died rather young. They all belonged to the officers of the journalists' society

Concordia founded in 1859. Frankl, Angelo Kuh, and Eduard Mautner were among the originators of this organization. The rabidly anti-Jewish Sebastian Brunner also belonged to the organization. It was clearly a time in which party interests were superseded by professional interests.*

L. Feldmann of Munich was, between 1850 and 1854, a dramatist in the Theater an der Wien. His works were as popular on the stage as those of Bauernfeld and Benedict. Among other plays he wrote *Wer ist der Jude?* (Who Is the Jew?), a corrective to the false impressions created by the story of Shylock. Adolph Kulka was one of the men active in 1848. At first a coworker of Kuranda, he later joined with Pisko in the editorship of the *Gerichtshalle*, and still later worked on the *Wiener*

**Concordia* had among its members Joseph Wertheimer, a dramatic critic. The play *Der Bucklige* (The Hunchback), which he freely translated from the English, was for a long time in the repertory of the Burgtheater. Another member was J. H. Wehle, later the editor of the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*. Still others were Theodor Weiser, war-correspondent in 1864 and later a member of the staff of the *Wiener Lloyd*, Moritz Wengraf, afterwards editor-in-chief of the *Neues Wiener Tageblatt*, and Friedrich Winterberg, who from 1857 to 1859 was on the staff of the *Oesterreichische Zeitung*. He was the editor of the *Fortschritt*, and later director of the *Reichsratskorrespondenz*. In 1863, he was employed in the press department of the Prime Ministry, and was on the staff of the *Wiener Zeitung*. Another member was Wilhelm Wiener, later Government Councilor Ritter von Wiener. In 1854, he began his journalistic career on the *Fremdenblatt* and ended as editor-in-chief of the *Presse* and president of *Concordia*. H. L. Back was on the staff of the *Wanderer* and the *Humorist* during the fifties, and subsequently was a writer on political subjects.

Allgemeine Zeitung. He was the author of the oft-quoted poem, *Schammes der Chanukka Lichter*, in which Israel was represented as the dispenser of light to the nations. Eduard Kulke was the author of the charming Moravian ghetto stories and of other short stories, as well as of a tragedy called *Korah*. This play was supported by Count Thun, the reactionary though not anti-Semitic Minister. Kulke was the music critic of the *Fremdenblatt* and of the *Vaterland*. For a long time he was a defender of Richard Wagner against the severe strictures of the critic Hanslick, who was of Jewish descent.*

In 1864, the *Neue Freie Presse* was added to the newspapers which represented the views of the ruling upper bourgeois class since 1848. From 1848 on, the newspapers that represented these views were the *Ostdeutsche Post* and the *Presse*. The *Neue Freie Presse* was founded by Etienne, Friedländer and Wertheimer, all of whom had been on the staff of the *Presse*; the last two were baptized Jews from

*Friedrich Gustav Frisch and Rudolph Hirsch who wrote *Irrgarten der Liebe* deserve mention as playwrights by the side of Feldmann and Mautner. Julius Hirsch came from Bohemia in 1854 and joined the *Fremdenblatt*. In addition to other newspapers, he was above all active on the staff of the *Presse*. He was elected to the City Council as an expert in economic questions, and also belonged to the committee for the World's Fair in 1873. He was one of the popular newspaper writers of his day in Vienna.

Siegmund Schlesinger of Hungary was on the staff of the *Morgenpost* during the fifties. A brilliant feuilletonist and dramatic critic, he served, beginning 1867, on the *Neues Wiener Tageblatt* of his brother-in-law, Szepe. He also wrote dramas, among them *Die Gustel von Blasewitz* and *Mit der Feder*.

Breslau. Friedländer, who was Lassalle's brother-in-law, was considered the most important journalist of Austria. The *Neue Freie Presse* became the organ of the big merchants, railroad builders, financiers, industrialists, and commercial magnates and brokers. Big business was its chief interest. In its editorial offices sat the Jews Bacher and Benedict; and, during this period, Goldbaum, Nordmann, and Daniel Spitzer worked on its staff.

The time of its founding was well chosen. Its first task was to help establish the new Constitution and then to maintain it. In this way, the newspaper indirectly became the weapon of the Viennese Jews in fighting for political rights. That is why it became the target of the anti-Semites who called it "a Jew paper." But because of its leading articles, its *feuilletons*, and its indispensable mercantile information, it became so important that it was read by its political opponents both in Austria and in foreign countries, and became a mighty political factor as the organ of the educated burgher class.

The *Neues Wiener Tageblatt*, which has a larger circulation, became the organ of the lower middle class. Its founder was Moritz Szeps, a friend of Crown Prince Rudolph. Szeps came from Galicia in 1854 to study medicine in Vienna. His contributions to the *Wanderer* and to the *Presse* brought him recognition, and, at the age of 24, he was called to the editorial office of the *Morgenpost*. His very first article, in 1858, created an epigrammatic expression when he dubbed Montenegro the "Weathercock of Europe." After Austria's defeat at Solferino, he

was the first to venture a *feuilleton* in the *Morgenpost* entitled, "An Open Statement by a Citizen to the Emperor of Austria," in which he demanded a constitution. In 1867, he created for himself the *Neues Wiener Tageblatt*, through which he acquired a very important political position. For four decades he exercised a decisive influence upon the journalism of Austria.

Dr. Heinrich Jacques, was a member of the Imperial Council from 1879 to 1894. Among other achievements, he participated in drafting the reforms of the press law and of literary copyright.

Daniel Spitzer, nicknamed the *Wiener Spaziergänger* (Promenader of Vienna), reminds one by his biting wit and originality of Wilhelm Busch and Christian Morgenstern. Speidel said that Spitzer had to make an effort to be wicked. It is hard to believe that he was a successful lyric poet and yet was able to sing *Marietscherl von Dornbach* like a true Viennese while sipping new wine.

Carl Weil of Bockenheim, the first Jewish Court-Councilor, later ennobled, wrote *On the Admissibility of the Jews to Civic Rights*, in 1827, *Young Germany and the Jews*, in 1831, *The Upper House and the Jews of Saxony*, in 1837.

Joseph Weilen was the director of the editorial staff for the de luxe edition of *Oesterreich-Ungarn in Wort und Bild* (Austria-Hungary in Word and Picture), published under the supervision of Crown Prince Rudolph. He became professor at the War Academy and at the Conservatory.

Mosenthal enjoyed friendship and favor everywhere. He was the only German in his day who wrote librettos for operas. Among his librettos were those for Nicolai's *Merry Wives of Windsor*, for Goldmark's *The Queen of Sheba*, and for Brüll's *The Golden Cross*. He also wrote librettos for the operas of Doppler, Kasemayer and Kretchmar. Some of these operas have survived not because of the music, but because of Mosenthal's able librettos. He came to Vienna from Cassel to succeed Kompert as teacher in the home of Goldschmidt. Then he became librarian at the Ministry of Education, thus, like his uncle, Dr. Karl Weill, serving as a State official without having been compelled to undergo baptism. He wrote a series of dramas, among them *Deborah*, which was translated into fifteen languages and presented on the stage in almost every country of the world. It was presented in London 350 times. Finally, this "Jew piece" was even played at the Vienna Burgtheater. This drama is an ardent protest against religious intolerance, and to this day does not fail to evoke a sympathetic response from the audience whenever it is produced, as it occasionally is. Among his other dramas, *Der Sonnenwendhof* is by some considered his best; while his stories from Jewish family life, such as his *Tante Guttraud* written in the style of Kompert, are more highly valued by others. Moreover, he displayed particular talent in the composition of poems for various occasions, prologues, and the like. He was the "herald of Viennese holidays." His poem *Null* (Zero) won for him the friendship of

Grillparzer. It dealt with the figure Zero which became dissatisfied with its position, pushed itself forward to the head and finally realized to what an extent it really was a Zero. This poem, too, has survived the author. Mosenthal was generally beloved for his kindheartedness.

Leopold Kompert was born in the Bohemian ghetto. Arriving in Vienna at the age of sixteen, he became a teacher in the household of Goldschmidt, Rothschild's agent. In 1848, he was in Hungary experimenting in journalism. He then became the *feuilleton* editor of the *Oesterreichische Lloyd*, of which he afterwards took over the editorship. Later, he resigned from this post and in 1857 became an official of the Kreditanstalt for a short time. Thereafter he devoted himself entirely to literary and social work. He became an officer of the Jewish Religious Community and a member of *Concordia*, that court of honor of the society of journalists, as well as of other organizations. His masterly and world-famed stories of the ghetto have been translated into many languages. Aside from possessing high literary merit, they exerted some political influence during the time of the reaction. For, on the one hand, they describe the woe-begone situation and the spiritual hunger of the oppressed Jewish population in the pre-March days, and, on the other, the happiness they felt because of humane decrees introduced since the time of Joseph II. He pointed out the salutary effects upon their spirits in being permitted to engage in agriculture and manual labor. While his smoothing over of religious differences

that arose in mixed marriages, very characteristic of the liberalism of that day, is somewhat painful to a Jew, his stories and his poems, nevertheless, show real and loyal Jewish feeling. Among his works are a beautiful paraphrase of the *Kaddish*, and some particularly attractive poems, such as *Das Jüdische Herz* (The Jewish Heart), composed for the occasion of the Temple dedication in Leopoldstadt.

In the house of Joseph Wertheimer, Kompert met Laube, Ottilie Goethe, Betty Paoli, Ida Fleischl and Pollak. In his own house one might find Frankl, Mosenthal, Weilen, Kürnberger, Emil Kuh, Saar and others. He became an honorary doctor of the University of Jena, and was elected to the City Council of Vienna. He devoted himself zealously to Jewish affairs and helped in the production of the *Jahrbuch für Israeliten*, thereby becoming involved in the famous lawsuit about the Messiah idea. He contributed also to Szantos' *Neuzeit*. The fact that he looked forward to a time when the Christian Church and Judaism would unite, for which he wished to be prepared, explains much of his attitude as a politician and writer.

CHAPTER V

THE JEW IN VIENNESE SOCIETY

THE rise of the middle class brought about a revolution in the social life of Vienna. As members of the army, this class had for sometime been the equal of the nobility. Now they began to take an active part in governmental affairs and especially to occupy positions in the civil service. At first, art was under the patronage of the Court and the nobility. Gluck, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven used to play their music in the palaces. The upper nobility was in full control of the *Burgtheater*. But the poets, the painters and the scholars could never enter into this "highest Society," not even as protégés. The Vienna middle class, who for the most part were not in good financial circumstances, scarcely concerned themselves with cultural problems. A transformation was soon effected by the Jewish women in Vienna similar to that in Berlin. And it was no accident that these women, in whose salons men of high rank met men of culture, came from Berlin.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the salons of Berlin—a manifestation of French culture, as the very name indicates—were transferred to Vienna by Fanny von Arnstein and her sisters. The Viennese salon differed from its Berlin counterpart by its greater emphasis on the intellectual element and by its more restrained atmosphere.

But, above all, the difference lay in the fact that whereas in Berlin the salon was more liberal in spirit, in Vienna it was much more conservative. Moreover, the Viennese salons were in the homes of financiers, where the culture of the women was no less conspicuous than the wealth of the men. Not infrequently members of the highest nobility, the so-called "Olympians," and even of the ruling houses, availed themselves of the hospitality of Vienna Jews. Unlike the women prominent socially in Berlin, the ladies in the highest Viennese circles consorted with Jewish women such as Fanny von Arnstein and others. She served on the executive committee of the *Society of Noble Ladies for the Encouragement of the Good and the Useful*. It was a society whose ramifications spread throughout the entire empire. It numbered among its members princesses like Auersperg and Esterhazy, as well as countesses such as Lankoronska and Dietrichstein, the Regent of the *Foundation of Noble Dames*. Fanny was also a member of a Council, which numbered among its members four princes and five counts. Another member of this Council was Sonnenfels who, despite his baptism, was still considered a Jew. The family of Joseph Wertheimer also had relations with it.

At Fanny's suggestion this organization founded the *Society of Music Lovers*, which is still in existence. In its archives are the well known engraving by Guerin, which shows her turning to the right and leaning on a table, and an original colored lithograph of her by Kriehuber, of the year 1830.

An inscription attached to this lithograph reads: "In the year 1811, this woman united all the art lovers for a concert on behalf of charity. She thereby made the first gesture toward the founding of a permanent organization for furthering the musical art."* The concert was really held on November 29, and again on December 3, 1812. Fanny was the moving spirit behind it.

Miss Trollope, who visited Vienna a hundred years ago, set down in her book of travels her observations about the Jews, and gave comments about them made in the circles of the upper nobility. She herself judged them with some prejudice; she stated that they exercised a powerful political influence on account of their wealth. The splendor displayed by a number of the Jews excelled that of the wealthiest Christians, but did not seem to win for them the sincere affection of their guests. She believed that in the course of twenty-five years all the Jews would become baptized to improve their social position. Those already baptized evinced great zeal in attending Church, and like most converts made more ardent profession of their new religion than the most pious Christians. Possibly Miss Trollope had in mind women like Dorothea, the daughter of Moses Mendelssohn, who lived in Vienna for some decades as the wife of Friedrich Schlegel, and became a devoted Catholic. One recalls Börne's

*See the report in the *Vaterländische Blätter* of December 12, 1812.

quip about baptized Jewish women "who wear crosses longer than their noses."

The poetess Carolina Pichler, the daughter of Court-Councilor Greiner, has also left us impressions of the Jews of those days in her memoirs. She, too, shared the prejudices of her caste, the lower landed nobility, who, as the incumbents of the State offices, were particularly opposed to Jewish emancipation. She referred to the "aggressiveness and greed of certain Jews." She recognized, however, without reservation the charitable characteristics of the Jews and their patriotism; with Moritz Hartmann, she did not think that the patriotism of her friend L. A. Frankl was altogether genuine. She was friendly with the noble sister of Fanny von Arnstein, Frau Ephraim, who instituted the first evening tea parties in Vienna. But she could not free herself from religious prejudice, in spite of her uprightness and high mental attainments, and despite the fact that she thought highly of her friend Joseph Wertheimer and other Jews. For she, too, represented that Christian middle class about which Borne said: "The fact that they are not Jews comforts them, to some extent, for not being at least Court-Councilors." Cosmopolitanism, which was at one time the finest flowering of the German spirit, was now looked upon with suspicion as something specifically Jewish, even where, as in the case of the Jews of Vienna, it was bound up with true patriotic feeling.

Although members of the highest nobility, and especially foreigners of distinction, mingled socially

with the Arnsteins and their circle, they still regarded them condescendingly. For all who achieved a social position through financial success, Christian as well as Jew, constituted a so-called "secondary society." Unapproachable, on the whole, the higher nobility stood above and regarded them as parvenus. They did not approve even of the introduction of intellectual life or, as they called it, "Prussianism," into Austria by Fanny, and especially by her niece Marianne Saaling, Goethe's friend. They invited Jewish women into their societies, only when they wished to profit by their advice or their wealth. That is why Fanny was invited to enter the framework of the Court and State of the Austrian Empire into which, otherwise, only official or semi-official personalities were welcomed. Stories began to go the rounds telling of Prince Lichtenstein's having fallen in a duel on account of Fanny, or of the attachments of the Prince Louis Ferdinand and Count Tettenborn for her friend Rahel. All these stories, however, were nothing more than gossip.

THE EMPRESS CAROLINA AUGUSTA

Carolina Augusta, the fourth wife of Emperor Francis, was one of the few people of consequence who vigorously opposed the widespread anti-Jewish feeling prevailing in the upper as well as in the lower circles. Her friendly attitude toward the Jews showed itself as early as 1817, a few weeks after her marriage. She was the only Empress of Austria who ever attended a public Jewish service. While

the Imperial couple were passing through Galicia, the Empress signified her wish to pay a visit to a synagogue at Brody. The Jews welcomed her and arranged an extraordinary service. After the prayers were over, the Emperor and Empress were curious to inspect the scroll of the Torah. Naturally, their wishes were gladly complied with. Every detail that aroused their attention was explained to them. A little girl, later to become the grandmother of the two famous Marmorek brothers, one a physician in Paris, the other an architect in Vienna, read a poem of homage. On the following afternoon, a brilliant celebration was held on the street. The district rabbi, Theomim, pronouncing a blessing over the Imperial pair, spoke from a dais which had been erected for him in front of their residence. Through the Empress's influence, her brother-in-law, Francis Karl, father of Francis Joseph, contributed a thousand florins to the Jewish hospital in Brody. The Israelite Children's Home in Vienna was under her patronage and, after her death, under that of the Empress Elizabeth, wife of her step-grandson and nephew, Francis Joseph. Saphir, the baptized Jew, used to read for her.

EMPEROR FRANCIS

That Emperor Francis was not anti-Semitic by nature is apparent from the repeated favors he bestowed upon the Jews. When his brother, the Palatine of Hungary, wanted to marry a third time, Francis gave his consent, saying: "I believe that

his next one will be a Jewess. I shall pray that this one may enjoy a long life."

At first, Francis seemed to follow in the footsteps of his uncle, in his generous policy to the Jews. In a decree issued in Bohemia in 1797, he promised them the same civic advantages enjoyed by the Christians.

With regard to Galicia, the Chancellery in 1791 signified its belief in "equal civic rights, equal freedom in industry, and equal duties in the cities without distinction between Jews and Christians." But the Chancellery felt that owing to its treatment of the Jews until then, they could not possibly entertain a friendly attitude towards the State, and that they ought either to be conciliated by a mild treatment or be expelled altogether. "The middle way between these two methods," it concluded, "is undoubtedly the worst." Yet it was exactly this middle way that the government adopted. The blame for this and for the whole deplorable situation which resulted from it must indeed not be laid at the door of the Emperor alone, but also of Austrian officialdom. Another ruler, however, might have done what Francis himself did in other situations—taken the wind out of the sails of the bureaucrats.

He was inconsistent, for though he wrote that the treatment of the Jews must be liberal and uniform, and though he confirmed certain rights possessed by the Jews of the Italian provinces, yet he did nothing to remove the old limitations of the Jews of Western Austria. He did not keep his promise of 1832 to remove the Jewish taxes, which

were finally removed by the revolution in October, 1848. "On the whole," he said, "my views proceed on the basic assumption that the Jews must be treated as equal with my other subjects with respect to State burdens of every kind. They must therefore be freed from all special taxes which are still imposed upon them." For the Viennese Jews, however, he stubbornly refused any concessions whatever, although in 1847 the Galician government, on the basis of an imperial resolution of 1792, made it possible for the Jews to attain civic rights in any of the cities in which they were permitted to live.

VIENNESE CHARM

In public places such as restaurants and in organizations, the Viennese middle classes treated the Jews with their proverbial politeness. Moritz Hartmann, Ignaz Kuranda, and Adolf Fischhof were cheerfully welcomed in liberal circles. Politicians like Bach, Bauernfeld and others came to the home of Todesco. On the stage, which Dawison graced and where Sonnenthal was soon to shine, the works of Mosenthal and other Jews found ready favor. Enthusiastic greetings were extended to Jewish artists from foreign countries, like Rachel, Meyerbeer and Jacques Offenbach who, in the words of Nietzsche, represented "a real deliverance from the emotional but in reality degenerate musicians of the German romantic period." Efforts were made to avoid causing the Jews personal offense. Jews who had achieved some distinction were

received in the good graces of men like Hebbel, Lenau, and others. Music in particular brought Jewish musicians into contact with their fellow Austrians—Moscheles and Dr. Jeitteles with Beethoven; and Sulzer with Schubert, Liszt, and Brahms. Liszt had a great many Jewish friends. The road was open for Jewish artists to enter even the Imperial Court, and some of them gained Imperial recognition. Poetry, too, served as a bond of union for Jewish-Christian friendships. The talented Betty Paoli was the bosom friend of the Princess Lori Schwarzenberg.

The highly critical and discriminating Grillparzer mingled freely with Jews. He was on terms of friendship with the Arnstein circle, the Herzl family, and especially with the Pereiras. Among his other friends, were the Figdors, the Liebens, and the Todescos. Dr. Felix Joel, who was known as a friend of the theater and the arts, inspired him to write *Sappho*. He was frequently to be seen at the home of Eskeles, who gave him a letter of credit for his journey. Gustav Figdor took him about in London, and Emanuel Neuwall, a commercial agent of Eskeles, showed him the sights of Paris. Josephine Wertheimstein encouraged the women of Vienna to do him honor on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. Grillparzer was opposed to ill treatment of Jews. As he said in his verses:

“The Spanish Inquisition
Will not do for our days,
You will have to be content
To torture non-believers in other ways”

Business relationships often ended by becoming social relationships. Jewish bankers paid not only Beethoven's bills but those of his publishers.

JEWISH SALONS SINCE THE AUSTRIAN "ERA OF GOOD FEELING"

Sophie Todesco was the daughter-in-law of the philanthropist, Herman Todesco, and wife of the Consul of Saxony, Eduard von Todesco. As said above, she was the friend of Ottilie von Goethe and Grillparzer. In 1848, she entertained one evening in honor of the deputies of the Frankfort Reichstag. Bach, Mühlfeld, who had earned the gratitude of the Jews and who was well known to have been a natural son of Napoleon I, Hornborstel, and other well known politicians were among her guests. Her salon was considered the most literary one. Occasionally, even Bismarck would visit it.

Louise Beyfuss ran the household for her brother, the well known politician Dr. Heinrich Jacques. Her sparkling wit helped to make their home the center of the most important political circle. Ministers, like the clerical Count Leo Thun, visited them, as also did Johann Strauss and other worthies of the stage and literature.

Ottilie Bondy founded the Vienna Housewives' Society and was one of the contributors of the *Hausfrauenzeitung*. She established a sanitary kitchen for police and railroad officials. By word, deed and pen she accomplished much in the field of social welfare. Dr. Schober, later Austrian

Chancellor, was in his younger days a daily guest at her house.

Elise von Gomperz, worthy help-mate of Theodor von Gomperz, was president of the *Verein für soziale Hilfe* (Society for Social Aid). She coöperated in minor duties in the field of social welfare with the famous jurist Franz Klein, who was afterwards Minister of Justice and is believed to have been of Jewish origin. She also translated some of the works of John Stuart Mill. It was considered a privilege to be acceptable at the home of Gomperz.

Julie Schlesinger, Viennese-born, directed the Jewish Deaf and Dumb Institute. She established People's Kitchens on the model of those in Berlin, and founded a Jewish kitchen also. Among the visitors at her home were Halm, Heyse, Wilbrand and, above all, the actress Julie Rettich.

Ida Fleischl von Marxow was of a family that had moved from Prague to Munich. She then married a Viennese wholesale merchant, and her house became the center of art and science. She helped publish the *Letzte Gedichte* (Last Poems) of her friend Betty Paoli. She herself zealously pursued studies in Hindu thought and general philosophy.

Josephine, wife of Leopold von Wertheimstein, was a sister of Sophie Todesco. The "Fairy" as she was called by her admirers, did not seek to shine, but rather to make the members of her household and her guests as comfortable as possible. Some of her guests used to enjoy her hospitality for several weeks at a time, and even longer. Among these were the Wilbrandt-Baudius couple, Saar, Hopfen,

and diplomats like the son of Bulwer-Lytton. Among her frequent and often daily visitors, were ministers, scholars and artists. The poet Bauernfeld died in her house. Jacob Burckhardt, who was anything but friendly to the Jews, undoubtedly had her in mind when he wrote in his *Letters*: "The unconscious charm possessed by the women of Vienna, even such as are no longer young or pretty, is quite equal to that of the Parisian women, while the tones of their voices, upon which I set so much value, are much richer and finer." The last remark recalls the statement of Miss Trollope that the voices of the Vienna Jews in the synagogue were superior to those of the Christians in the Church choirs.

According to the general consensus of opinion the most beautiful and charming girl in Vienna was Fanny, daughter of Edward Todesco and niece of Josephine. She married a Christian editor. Josephine herself was described by St. René-Taillandier as "*une reine poétique de la société viennoise*" (a poetic queen of Vienna Society). Her biographer, the wife of the famous physicist Exner, compared her at the age of forty to "a picture which stepped out of its frame," and said that she was "at the same time full of kindliness and charm." Josephine had her portrait painted by her friend, Lenbach, by Makart, and by other famous masters of the day. She persuaded Busoni to accept Penther as a pupil in painting. She was instrumental in the establishment of the Grillparzer Endowment. Herself possessed of poetic talent, she drafted the

women's address to Grillparzer, Austria's greatest poet, on the occasion of his eightieth birthday. She belonged to the Committee, which consisted of the cream of Vienna society, and included her sister Sophie Todesco and the wives of Hebbel and Laube. During her stay in Paris, she enjoyed the friendship of such famous men as Mérimée and Turgenev. As early as 1839, Archbishop Pyrker hailed her as an able poet. To be sure, she displayed no interest in specifically Jewish causes; her charity was not exclusive. She gave her villa with the splendid park which bordered upon it to the City of Vienna. To her and some other Jewish women must be ascribed the renewed vivacity of Viennese social life which had languished since the Revolution of 1848. Moritz Hartmann was her guest in Vienna not only during the time of the Congress of Vienna, but years later. He paid his debt of gratitude to the Jewesses of Vienna when he wrote to Heyse in 1864, "You will become acquainted with the kindest woman and the finest character of this century and of our corner of the world. Acquaintance with her is to be treasured and will lay up beautiful memories for the future."

CLUBS AND CAFÉS

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The *Ludlamshöhle* was a favorite resort for literary men. In the pre-March days it was constantly under police surveillance. Among those who came here was Joseph Biedermann, son-in-law of Michael Lazar Biedermann. The literary people, however, usually met at his home. It was in this way that he came close to Grillparzer. Salomon Czeskowitz, Sichrowsky and Joseph Fischhof also belonged to the same circle.

In 1855, the *Grüne Insel* (Green Isle) was established. It was a center of gaiety, a club in which the members called themselves by such names as knights, grandmasters, jailers, fools, etc., very much as in the *Schlaraffia*. At the meetings they were given to indulging in wit and humor, the members being at their best in composing satires and comic songs. Here, by the side of Grillparzer, Laube, La Roche and Lewinsky, were Frankl, Mosenthal, Kompert, Sonnenthal, and others. They symbolically and hopefully named the club Green Isle, making it a temporary refuge from the prevailing political absolutism.

To the politically very important *Juridisch-politischer Leseverein* (Juristic-Political Reading Club), belonged Frankl, Romeo Seligmann, and other Jews. Both Jews and Christians belonged to the *Niederösterreichischer Gewerbeverein* (Industrial Club of Lower Austria). It was a club in which nobles and commoners were fellow members. Jews were later admitted to the *Wiener Männergesangs-*

verein, and some were even elected to the presidency. "The great Viennese crash" of 1873, like an earthquake, shook the Jewish society of Vienna from its lowest to its highest stratum and affected the clubs.*

*See Appendix Q, p. 523.

CHAPTER VI

COMMUNAL LEADERS

MANNHEIMER AS AN ORGANIZER

Mannheimer was not a mere phenomenon in the life of Viennese Jewry, like a meteor which runs its fiery course and explodes with a loud crash. He was a conscientious and reliable administrator of the interests entrusted to his care, and at the same time, a keen judge of men, able to direct them safely in the proper channel. He was not balked by difficulties or the conflicting personalities of the men with whom he had to deal. He had an unusual faculty for mediating between the most divergent people, who represented the conflict between the old and the new. That is why he became the soul of the Jewish community of Vienna in the first half of the nineteenth century. Because of the purity of his motives and his tried ability, he enjoyed the implicit faith of his coreligionists. A devoted teacher, an enthusiastic preacher of the word of God, his own self-sacrificing goodness served as an example to others; his unselfishness was touching. He entered upon his position as Vienna preacher while still a young man. It was a position with no real standing in law, in a community which was not recognized by the State; in a city where, as a Jew, he had no right to spend a single night without the permission of the authorities. He exercised power over the community by

sheer personality—aided by his oratorical gifts, his pedagogic abilities, organizing talents, and extraordinary zeal. For a long time he fulfilled his various duties without any help and had to rely upon his own judgment and trust to his own resources. Besides attending to his duties, he was tireless in his efforts to persuade the governmental authorities, by the force of personality and the influence he wielded, to grant the most primitive rights to his fellow Jews and to give legal recognition to the community. At the same time he was burdened by personal financial anxieties. Too sensitive to ask the community to increase his meager earnings, he became so distracted in trying to provide for his household that he died prematurely. His social-humanitarian activities were not confined to the Jews, but extended to non-sectarian institutions like the *Penzinger Rettungsgesellschaft* (Humane Society). A true shepherd of his flock, he found no time for scientific work, which might have served as a refuge from the difficulties and sorrows of everyday life, and as an aid and a source of spiritual comfort in the performance of his official duties. The founding of the Vienna *Kultusgemeinde* (Jewish Community) was his most important work and it survived him over half a century.

His translation of the prayer book, and the religious service organized by him, are still used. The rite fixed by himself and Sulzer for Vienna has been adopted in widely scattered communities throughout Europe. Disputants in the many religious conflicts which raged among the Jews frequently asked him

for his opinion. He always took a conservative stand and, in his written opinions, he was not in sympathy with religious reform, as he was in his younger days. Even when he inclined to innovations in the religious service, he did not go to extremes.

When, in 1841, he was asked for his opinion in the dispute which had arisen with regard to the using of German in the prayer book in the Temple at Hamburg, he replied that he saw no objection to doing so, although in Vienna only the sermons were delivered in German. As a rule, he thought it advisable that the individual community should decide for itself as to the omission of the *Piyyutim*. Experience taught him that in communities where only a single synagogue existed, more consideration should be paid to historical Judaism and to the traditionalism and piety of the population. He said that he belonged to "those who do not incline to rationalistic views in the matter of Messianic teachings about the Kingdom of God and the Redemption," and that he was rather of "those who, whatever the grounds, feel decidedly inclined to recognize and to represent the historical and national elements in this dogma, and who hope for and expect a redemption in that sense of the word." Nevertheless, he took issue with the Haham Bernays who opposed the innovations at the Hamburg Temple. With a degree of self-consciousness to which one is not accustomed in him, but which he thought he was justified in showing in his dispute with Bernays, he expressed himself as follows: "The undersigned is in a community which in no

sense belongs to the adherents of schismatic and separatistic groups. For sixteen years he has enjoyed the confidence of all Israelite communities and of the highest authorities of the Austrian Monarchy in matters of Jewish ritual." He also describes himself as "a competent authority in matters of Jewish ritual, as a teacher and spiritual guide of one of the most important communities in Germany, which, with all due respect to tradition and ritual, devotes its efforts to the improvement and refinement of religious service among the Jews." His relations with Dr. Salomon, the preacher of the Temple at Hamburg, were cordial and when Dr. Salomon visited Vienna, Mannheimer invited him to preach in his own Temple. In gratitude for his address, a small golden slab was dedicated to him by the officers of the community.

As "the first religious teacher and preacher at the Jewish House of Prayer and spiritual adviser of the Jewish Community of Vienna," Mannheimer, in 1843, took a firm stand in defence of circumcision, which was then the subject of dispute in the Jewish community of Frankfort. He wrote: "With philosophical doctrines one builds neither nations nor sacred institutions . . . Judaism is not a philosophical doctrine but an historical institution, sanctified by divine revelation, and firmly established and unified by ancestral tradition and filial piety and devotion,—an indivisible unit like any organism, in which body and soul are inseparable. A religion so deeply rooted in heart and mind that its adherents have borne all pangs and tortures for its sake with such patience

and self-sacrifice, can not be shattered by philosophical deductions or negations. What holds the soul of the Jew so firmly bound to Judaism is not, as so many believe, the doctrine of monotheism as a logical principle or some metaphysical idea; it is, rather, the outward unity and well-organized consistency which appear so clearly in its traditions and institutions." Like Schleiermacher, Mannheimer emphasized the feeling of dependence as the basis of religion, especially of Judaism. We have no right, he said, to sacrifice that feeling of brotherhood with our coreligionists which the Jewish religion has given to the Jews, and hence we must not lay a hand on the institutions of Judaism. Freedom of conscience, yes, but not at the price of loss of conscience—such was his solution.

Mannheimer turned even upon Gabriel Riesser who had been somewhat inconsistent on the question of circumcision. Actually, however, Riesser bravely declared his views in the following motto: "No concession in religion; we demand equality as we are." Mannheimer wanted uncircumcised boys to be considered non-Jews and to be excluded from religious functions. He did not even want to enter them upon the Jewish registry-list, which he had wisely undertaken to control because it gave him a semi-official position. Later on, this became an official duty, as the government made the control of the registry a function of the rabbinic office.

Mannheimer delivered numerous opinions which the government authorities demanded of him, putting him to great effort and encroaching upon his

time. They were influenced by his opinion on the abolition of the Jewish oath, which had been a source of shame for the Jews but also a blemish upon the State, and was finally dispensed with in 1846.

Mannheimer did not hesitate to change his views when occasion warranted. He admitted that he would not have delivered in his old age some addresses he had made in his youth. His candor is apparent in the reply he made to an orthodox rabbi who had sent his congratulations, but tactlessly used the words, "although our religious views differ widely." With his usual liberality, Mannheimer asked, "How do you know that my religious views are not also your own?" When his colleague cited some passages in a sermon of his which had been printed many years before, Mannheimer disavowed his former views, but pointed out the circumstances under which the sermon had been delivered. "On the one side," said he, "there was religious nihilism and, on the other, external ceremonialism without inner ethical content." He had spoken as he had, to instruct the nihilists on the one hand and to admonish the orthodox on the other.

Mild in all outward appearance, Mannheimer was essentially a man of resolute determination. Restlessly and unremittingly, he labored toward a definite goal, namely to preserve Judaism at all costs. For some, reverence for Judaism had to be awakened, for others, its forms had to be made attractive. It had to be represented as a matter of the heart; as something that could fill one's life. In brief, he

labored for mutual toleration among Jews by infusing a new light and a new spirit into old words and forms. No one was better fitted for this task than he. With justice, he prided himself on a certain occasion that his own community was at least united. This was despite the fact that in Vienna as nowhere else, "the Orient, with its hoary traditions of thousands of years, meets the Occident, with its modern views—rigid observance of the Past, alongside of the searching and constructive spirit of the New Age."

Since then, the differences have become even more accentuated and new divisions of an essential nature have arisen. If, in spite of all this, the community still retains the outward appearance of a united whole, the fact is in no slight degree to be ascribed to Mannheimer's genius. His spirit hovered over his community and has guarded it against chaos.

THE KOMPERT CASE, 1863

The Kompert case arose as a result of the expounding of some Messianic views of the Jews by Graetz, in his article, *Die Verjüngung des jüdischen Stammes* (The Rejuvenation of the Jewish Race), published in Wertheimer's *Jahrbuch für Israeliten*, for the year 5624 (1863-4). Graetz expressed the view, frequently presented by Bible commentators, that Israel was the Messiah-people and that when, in chapter 53, the Prophet Isaiah spoke of "the Servant of God," he referred not to an individual but to the entire

Jewish people. Thereupon, the Austrian Government brought a charge against the publisher, represented by Dr. Kompert, that Christianity had been insulted and orthodox Judaism itself degraded, since one of the tenets of the latter was belief in a personal Messiah. The case was tried before the Vienna *Landesgericht* on December 30, 1864. In his defence, Dr. Kompert cited opinions of Rapoport, the Chief Rabbi of Prague, and Dr. Frankel, the director of the Rabbinical Seminary of Breslau. Mannheimer and Horowitz appeared as witnesses in his behalf, both giving corroborative testimony. Nevertheless, Kompert was condemned to pay a fine for degrading Christianity, but was relieved of the charge of insulting Jewish orthodoxy on the ground that the Austrian law laid down no penalties for attacks upon an orthodoxy that separated itself from the general Jewish fold.

The lawsuit is of particular importance for the understanding of the then existing situation in Jewish life. For the fact is that the Vienna *Landesgericht* had raised the accusation against Kompert at the instigation of the followers of Ignaz Deutsch, the exponent of Jewish orthodoxy in Vienna. The government was forced to take a hand in the matter, since, as it declared, "a decree of June 20 and of October 13, 1781, had placed the Jewish religion among those whose exercise, teachings, customs and ceremonials stood under the protection of the criminal law." According to an interpretation of this decree issued on May 27, 1852, sects of Judaism, if any developed, could lay no claim to protection.

Moreover, the experts, that is Mannheimer and Horowitz, declared under oath "that within the Jewish fold there exist no schism and no sects; that the expectation of the Messiah might indeed be an article of faith, but that part of the people might expect a personal Messiah while the majority might refer Messianic prophecy to the People itself. Under any circumstances, according to religious law, both sides are free to hold their opinions."

It was easy to foresee that this opinion would not remain unchallenged by those Jewish circles who had originally brought the matter to the attention of the court. A refutation and protest soon followed, signed by 121 rabbis, among whom was Dr. Hildesheimer. There also appeared a thorough discussion of biblical and talmudic references to the Messiah by J. Guggenheimer, in S. R. Hirsch's *Jeshurun* of 1864. These protests asserted that a split in Judaism did in fact exist. This had been openly conceded by the reform party, by Moses Hess, for example, as early as 1837, and again at the rabbinic conferences between 1844 and 1847. Moreover, the orthodox in various cities had already established separate communities. If, therefore, the State considered it its duty to protect Judaism, it had to support orthodoxy alone, since reform Judaism had separated itself from orthodoxy and was a recent innovation. The best proof of the existence of a cleavage was the obvious fact that the Jews who did not believe in a personal Messiah and who therefore rejected the divine promise made through the prophets, were separated from the others by an unbridgeable chasm.

Ever since that lawsuit about the Messiah, the opposition of the orthodox Jews of Vienna to the leadership of the community increased. Jellinek's stand on religious questions also called forth the strongest opposition in conservative circles—to such an extent that hopes for a separation have never been abandoned.

SOLOMON SULZER

A specially benign Providence placed by the side of Mannheimer the gifted artist Solomon Sulzer, who was in charge of the synagogal music. Sulzer's *Shir Zion* exercised great influence. His attractive and appealing conduct of the prayers, without the accompaniment of an organ, won for him the admiration of the world. Vienna was indebted to Biedermann for obtaining the services of the twenty-one year old Sulzer.

Sulzer, by the way, was the first to introduce and popularize Schubert's German songs. When hearing Sulzer sing them, Schubert remarked, "Now for the first time I understand my own music and what it is that gives significance to the words of my songs." Liszt and Hebbel who had shown his favorable attitude toward Judaism in his poem *Der Jude an den Christen* (The Jew Addresses the Christian), both found Sulzer's singing a revelation in "Jewish art." People streamed into the Temple to hear Sulzer. An unconfirmed report has it that Emperor Ferdinand went to hear him. Lenau wrote: "This evening I heard Sulzer who, very likely, has the

finest voice of any. I should very much like to hear him sing my songs."

In her book, *Vienna and the Austrians* (London, 1837, vol I, p. 373), Frances Trollope wrote enthusiastically about his voice. "There is, in truth, so wild and strange a harmony in the songs of the children of Israel as performed in the synagogue in this city," she said, "that it would be difficult to render full justice to the splendid excellence of the performance, without falling into the language of enthusiasm. A voice to which that of Braham [the well known Jewish opera singer of London] in his best days was not superior, performs the solo parts of these extraordinary cantiques; while about a dozen voices more, some of them being boys, fill up the glorious chorus. The volume of vocal sound exceeds anything of the kind I have ever heard; and being unaccompanied by any instrument, it produces an effect equally singular and delightful.

"Some passages of these majestic chaunts are so full of pathos, that the whole history of the nation's captivity rushes upon the memory as we listen; and the eyes fill with tears at the sufferings of God's people in hearing the words, 'Israel! Israel! Israel!' uttered in the sort of plaintive cry which they introduce with such beautiful effect."

The Court, the Russian Emperor, and the Sultan overwhelmed Sulzer with marks of distinction. On the occasion of his seventieth birthday, he was made an honorary citizen of the city of Vienna, just as Solomon Rothschild, Mannheimer and Kuranda had been. Leading persons in art and science and

most prominent social figures boasted of his friendship. He became one of the celebrities of Vienna, whom everyone was anxious to see and hear. Franz Liszt described the awe-inspiring scene in the synagogue where he went to hear Sulzer sing. "Seldom," he wrote, "had we experienced in such an overwhelming manner the vibration of the chords of divine worship and of human sympathy as we did on this evening. In the light of numerous candles which glistened in the ceiling like so many stars, a strange choir began in low guttural voices. It seemed as if every breast were a prison cell from the depth of which rose praises to the God of the Ark of the Covenant in the midst of exile and distress, calling upon Him with staunch faith and the full certainty of eventual deliverance from endlessly long enslavement . . . One seemed to see the psalms floating aloft like spirits of fire, and bowing as suppliants at the feet of the All Highest."

JOSEPH WERTHEIMER

Long and thorny was the road which led from Sonnenfels to Sonnenthal; but it was fraught with great results. At first the Jew was unable to attain to a position commensurate with his powers, no matter what his capacity or inner worth, unless he were willing to accept baptism. Apostasy, like a sort of wedding ring, was the only way to legitimize the existence of a man of Jewish birth. But the time came when in the full glow of liberalism a Jewish actor was ennobled, the first one of his profession

to be so honored. He thus won honor for his race as well as his profession, both until then despised.

Joseph Wertheimer bridged the transition from the era of the Enlightenment to the period of the realization of its political program, to which he himself contributed by his efforts. He was a leader in the struggle for the external and internal emancipation of his coreligionists. He not only lived through important historical events, he actually made history.

He was the only one among the leading personalities of Vienna Jewry who was born in Vienna. He was descended from its oldest and most honored Jewish family. From his very childhood, he was what might be called a *Kehillah-Mensch*, that is completely devoted to Jewish interests and filled with enthusiasm and love for Judaism and Jewry. As a child he, like young Lassalle, conceived the idea of winning back for his people the land of their fathers. He sought to prove the possibility of this from the Bible and he played upon combinations of biblical verses. Forty years later he went to the expense of decorating the halls of the day-nursery which he established with biblical verses of his own choice, in accordance with a model he had seen in a similar institution at Leghorn. Upon the occasion of family celebrations, he showed his piety by establishing religious and charitable foundations. As Representative of the community, he took an active part in the Jewish Synod at Augsburg. Though a busy merchant and commercial editor, he continued, for more than a decade, to issue *Annals* for the

elevation of Jewish life and the glorification of Jewish teaching, occasionally including a contribution by himself. He created a pension fund for the officials of the synagogues and offered a stipend to the son of the first preacher. For many years, he held the position of honorary communal secretary. As a member of the community's directorate, he devoted himself particularly to the schools. Later, in 1867, when the *Kultusgemeinde* (Official Jewish Community) was established, he became its first president.

His kindly, pious heart was concerned also with social problems. He had acquired unusual far-sightedness in the course of his life. This was due not only to his profound studies, but above all, to the knowledge and experience acquired by travel through Italy, Germany, France, and England. His breadth of vision showed itself in the humanitarian institutions which he created: a society for the aid of released prisoners, another for the establishment of child-caring institutions, and one for the support of Jewish orphans. His Jewish and political interests led him to establish a Jewish home for apprentices and to organize a society for the encouragement of manual labor among the Jews. He also founded a sister-institution to the Parisian *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, the *Israelitische Allianz* in Vienna, whose president he was from 1872 until his death in 1887.

He also wielded a facile pen for the emancipation of the Jews, a cause which he had always cherished as his highest aim. Occasionally, with the same object, he tried his hand successfully at the writing

of dramas. But in 1842, he published a work which is still valuable, under the title, *The Jews of Austria from the Standpoint of History, Law and Usefulness to the State*. The convincing arguments he offered created an impression not only in Austria but also in other countries. Nor was this his last word on the subject; he was in Austria what Riesser was in Germany, Crémieux in France, and Montefiore in England. His distinctive contribution, that which expressed the uniqueness of his character, was in the education of young children. In this, he harmoniously combined theory and practice. He had studied the child-caring institutions of England and translated an English book on the subject by S. Wilderspin, adding to it his own notes and comments. This work seemed so important to the government of Prussia that it ordered all schools to obtain a copy of it. Wertheimer thus appears to have been the precursor of Froebel, the father of the kindergarten, and the true founder of the educational system for children in Germany.

He directed a memorial to the Austrian government for the establishment of kindergartens. His proposal was laid before the Vienna clergy for their opinion and they declared themselves almost unanimously opposed to it, "because this would make the lower classes too educated." Nevertheless, Countess Therese Brunswick-Korompa, the "Immortal Love" of Beethoven, adopted the idea and, upon the personal advice of Wertheimer, established such an institution in Ofen. Two years later, in 1830, again with his coöperation, the first child-

caring institution was established by a Vienna clergyman who, in this respect, was in disagreement with his colleagues. Others followed this example, and then Carolina Augusta, the dowager empress, took them all under her patronage. Wertheimer soon established a similar institution for Jewish children. It remained a model institution of its kind, and in 1868 he joined to it a course for kindergarten teachers, the first in Austria. It soon obtained public recognition by law.

His many achievements gained for him civic rights and imperial decorations. He was fully deserving of the title of nobility which he received.

CHAPTER VII

COMMUNAL LEADERS (CONTINUED)

ADOLF JELLINEK

WHEN Mannheimer died in 1865, Jellinek had been preaching in Vienna for eight years and had made his pulpit famous. He had previously displayed his masterly powers in Leipzig. In Vienna, however, he found a greater sounding board for his powerful eloquence. His voice reéchoed even beyond the borders of the Monarchy. Whoever visited Vienna sought the synagogue to listen to its unrivaled preacher as well as its cantor.

What was it that distinguished Jellinek's eloquence from that of Mannheimer? Mannheimer had shown himself to be a ready fighter, impressive in extemporaneous speech and in debate. In his pulpit addresses he placed the moral lesson in the foreground. Genuinely sincere as he was, he knew how to reach the heart of his auditors. His style was simple, lucid and convincing. Jellinek's presentation, on the other hand, was more artistic. It was not artificial but rather polished, showing plasticity in the formation of ideas, skill in the variety of light and shade and a diction finely chiseled to the utmost detail. Nowhere did he permit a free play of words, or leave room for improvisation; everything was fitted into its proper place. In addition to this, he possessed a pathos, rhetorical but overwhelming,

and a finished mastery in description. His gestures and movements were studied with particularity—the pauses, the leaning on the pulpit, the manner of stretching out his hand to be kissed after the sermon—all this, though studied, created the proper atmosphere. He captivated the eye and the ear, the mind and the emotions, in fact, the whole of one's personality. Every one of his addresses was a masterpiece of construction. The ideas in his sermons were drawn not only from the rich sources of Jewish literature, but also from the general culture of humanity, and were selected and utilized with consummate skill. Moreover, he recreated these ideas and infused his own personality into them with such eloquence that they appeared in a new and unexpected light.

Through the lips of Jellinek spoke the genius of the Jewish people. A spark of Sinaitic fire seemed to flash from his eyes. Whoever heard him was stirred to enthusiastic recognition of the undying greatness of Judaism, its spiritual uniqueness and its glorious history. He was able to reveal to his audience something of the spirit that had animated Jewish men of learning from Moses down to the most recent youthful Talmud-student—a spirit that made every hearer proudly feel himself to be a link in the chain of tradition. He was an innovator, not so much in creating a new style of homiletics as in bringing to life the ancient meaning of the *Midrash*. Jellinek did not follow the latest form of preaching which, modeling itself upon Christian methods, banished the *Midrash* and even avoided a Hebrew

citation. He made use of the *derashah* (lecture, sermon) of the former days, but impregnated it fully with the modern spirit. Thus he would compose an impassioned sermon, breathing the soul of Judaism, irresistible in its effects upon his audience. The Viennese, so keenly interested in theatrical performances and philharmonic concerts, were all the more able to appreciate these sermons. Jellinek's art was not something assumed, something put on like a garment. It was natural to him, and his eloquence burst like lava from the crater of his soul. The sermons of Jellinek (incidentally also the beautifully printed books for which Vienna is noted) spread the fame of the community everywhere. At best, he could be plagiarized; never imitated; certainly not equaled. When I became his successor in the pulpit which he had raised to world-wide fame, I felt like young David attempting to put on the armor of Saul.

When the news of his death, in 1893, reached America, Jewish journals turned to Vienna with the request that his scientific publications be forwarded to them, for he had disciples here. There was a current belief that his world-wide reputation rested upon his literary productions and his researches. There was, therefore, no little surprise when it was discovered that his scholarly contributions were rather modest. But, as Philip Bloch properly said, every one of his sermons was a scholarly production, and a work of art besides. Every Jew, regardless of his religious views and political affiliations, should read Jellinek's addresses,

for they are a veritable fountain of Jewish learning. Some Hebrew scholars have asserted that they could fully satisfy their spiritual needs by reading two books alone, the Bible and Jellinek's addresses. Nor do these lose any of their vitality in translation.

All in all, Jellinek performed an undying service, even as a man of science. True, he produced no ponderous volumes which impress by scope rather than content. His merit consists mainly in the fact that he made more accessible the sources of the *Midrash* and the Cabala, and thus shed light upon folklore and other branches of study. He was a collector and editor of Jewish manuscripts. It was thus that he stimulated the interest and devotion of other research workers. Some have charged him with personal vanity and undue sensitiveness. But even so, he at least was frank and outspoken, and above all, his vanity did not degenerate into unforgiving vindictiveness. He encouraged students in scientific research and patronized the poor *Mehabber* (author), unless they had the misfortune to work in the same field as he or meet with unqualified disapproval from his too many flattering friends. In fact, he liked flattery. "You have no idea how much *Koved* (honor) I can stand," he once said. Despite his geniality and culture, he remained an overgrown child throughout his life, with all of a child's virtues and weaknesses.

His attitude in religious matters betrayed leanings toward reform. It reflected the liberal tendencies of his time, whose watchword was "Progress," and whose key-note was anti-clericalism. In view of

the conflicts of that day, his attitude is pardonable. Yet he was not opposed to the traditions and customs of religious life in which Judaism was rooted and from which it drew its sustenance. In his *Jisroel-Predigte* (the work comprising practically all his addresses), he emphasized not so much the ritual element as the historical mission and the universalistic nature of Judaism.

The man must be understood through his environment. The beginnings of Jellinek's development took place at a time of struggle against the enfettering of human thought. This struggle had its counterpart in Judaism, where it was carried on against compulsory religious domination. Unlike Mannheimer, Jellinek did not engage in open political conflicts. This was due partly to a physical weakness; his hardness of hearing put him at a disadvantage in intercourse with others. A more important reason was the fact that during the "liberal era," that is beginning with 1861, the Christian clergyman and therefore also the rabbi were relegated to the background. A leader of Viennese Jewry declared in the Upper House of Austria that leadership of the rabbinate in communal matters was unthinkable because most rabbis were unlettered. To be sure, this happened when Jellinek was practically eliminated from public life because of old age. To some extent the charge was true, for most of the rabbis of Galicia knew little of German letters even though they might be shining lights in Jewish scholarship. There was apparently a widespread intention to create no exception in the law, and to remove

"clerical influence" from among the Jews as well. In effect, it meant the replacing of the rabbi by the president of the religious community as representative of Jewish life. This was done, and the rabbis of the western part of the country, who really were moulders of the German language which they mastered, were deprived of their leadership along with the unlettered rabbis of the East.*

IGNAZ KURANDA

What the Jews of that time needed most was someone to lead the fight against anti-Semitism. The rabbi could not do so without loss of prestige. Anti-Jewish feeling was showing itself in the most debased forms. All that Jellinek could do (and this to his undying credit) was to give the Jews valuable weapons for defending themselves in the battle against these foes. Above all, he strengthened their self-consciousness, especially through the enthusiastic tribute which he paid to the Talmud. For the constant attacks of the anti-Semites had begun to make even some Jews ashamed of it. But the Jews soon found a defender in Ignaz Kuranda, who was able to make use of political weapons.

*Even Jellinek found, like the Eastern rabbis, the use of Jewish script, which he had acquired in his childhood, so natural that he employed it in writing his sermons and in his memoranda. As a matter of fact, much of the correspondence of the House of Rothschild was carried on in Jewish script. How current the use of this writing was even in Christian circles because of their frequent dealings with Jews, is apparent from the correspondence of the brothers Humboldt.

It is worthy of note that both Kuranda and Jellinek, the most important Vienna Jews of the liberal era, were supposed to be descendants of Hussites who had become Jews in order to escape the clutches of the Inquisition. Kuranda had no doubt about his own Hussite descent. Like Mannheim and Joseph Wertheimer, Jellinek and Kuranda were brothers in spirit, and even had a similar manner of approach.

Kuranda, as he once said during his lawsuit against Sebastian Brunner, "was born in Prague in 1812, and grew up in the midst of books." His father and grandfather had conducted their business as second-hand book dealers in the same building since 1784. He was self-educated and prepared himself for the university. He arrived in Vienna in 1834, where he associated with Lenau, Grillparzer, and Anastasius Grün. In 1837, he published the belletristic magazine, *Der Telegraph*. A tragedy of his, *Die letzte weisse Rose* (The Last White Rose), was written in Baden near Vienna, and was first produced in Bohemia. Subsequently, he went to Germany, Belgium and France. In 1841, the University of Brussels appointed him lecturer in German literature and history, in the hope that his lectures would draw Belgium and Germany closer together. Encouraged by the success of his lectures, he began to publish the *Grenzboten* (The Frontier Messengers), eventually moving with his publication to Leipzig. It has already been pointed out that this newspaper became the intellectual center of Austrian patriots. At a later time, under

the editorship of Gustav Freytag, it continued to play an important political rôle, though in an altogether different sense. During Kuranda's editorship, however, it was often smuggled into Austria and helped prepare the way for liberation from Metternich's rule. Even Metternich's biographer, Srbik, paid his respects to "the earnest desire for improvement and the moderate constitutionalism of Kuranda and his *Grenzboten*." In the meantime Kuranda received an honorary doctorate from the University of Leipzig for an important literary work. In 1848, he again came to Vienna, and at once became a member of the "Committee of Fifty," of which he soon assumed the leadership. Sent to the parliament at Frankfort, he undertook fruitless negotiations with the Czechs to persuade them to participate in the all-German parliament. In October, 1848, he was once more in Vienna.

He established the *Oestdeutsche Post*, which soon became a leading political journal. In the lawsuit with Sebastian Brunner, his brilliant gifts were clearly revealed. Bismarck once formulated the rule that "the best parry is a thrust." In an article, "Herr Sebastian Brunner," in the *Ostdeutsche Post* for January 27, 1860, Kuranda violently attacked Brunner for his unfair methods. He charged him with misleading the masses by adopting such a name for his paper as *Kirchenzeitung*. He accused him of serving up to his readers long exploded lies, such as that the religion of the Jews permits them to disregard their oaths, that they use Christian blood for religious purposes, and the like. He

further accused him of doing so in order to increase the circulation of his paper. The *Kirchenzeitung*, Kuranda said, decked itself out in strange feathers and pilfered the most disreputable pamphlets for libelous statements against the Jew.

Brunner sued Kuranda for libel. He pressed his charge and the case came to trial before the Viennese *Landesgericht* on May 10, 1860. The matter assumed international significance. It is still of vital interest, for Brunner based his accusations not upon a first-hand knowledge of Jewish literary sources, but upon second and third-hand literary testimonies, which could be shown to be forgeries or malicious inventions.

Judaism itself was on trial before the eyes of the entire world, in this forensic duel. The Kuranda-Brunner case arose at a most critical historical moment, at a time when the legal fetters which still shackled the Jews were about to fall. Kuranda very well realized this fact. In his brilliant defense, he said that the same thing was at stake here as in the emancipation of the Protestants in Germany in 1815, and of the Catholics in England in 1813. Yet the Jews were the last to be emancipated. "Just as we were the first to carry the banner of civilization as a people or nation or tribe," Kuranda said, "so we are the last to knock at the portals of Humanity asking for admittance and equality of rights. This is the meaning of the present case. Dr. Brunner is the representative of a lost cause. The more ground it loses the more violently it defends itself, and must have recourse to special

hate and prejudice in its fight against the general feeling for justice which is struggling for utterance, against the course of history." In the main, this was a repetition of the old quarrel between Reuchlin and Pfefferkorn about the Talmud. The only difference was that Kuranda knew almost as little about the Talmud as his opponent. Brunner relied upon the publications of Eisenmenger, while Kuranda depended upon Michaelis, the Göttingen expert, to refute his opponent. But the court was not concerned with the general merits of the case. In view of the evidence offered by Kuranda and Dr. Berger, his attorney, later a member of the ministry, the court held that the defendant had proved the truth of his statements and Kuranda was acquitted.

The defeat of Brunner compelled him to retire from the editorship of his Jew-baiting publication, which was eventually discontinued. Kuranda, on the other hand, was elected to the *Landtag* (Diet) of Lower Austria from the First District of Vienna, with Winterstein, another Jewish deputy. The *Landtag* eventually sent Kuranda to the *Reichsrat* (Parliament). At the same time, the Emperor appointed Anselm von Rothschild to membership in the *Herrenhaus* (Upper House), the first time a Jew was called to serve in an Upper House in Parliament. Rothschild was followed by Wertheimstein, Koenigswarter and, later, by Gomperz, Neumann, Grünhut and other Jews. In the *Reichsrat*, Kuranda rose to the leadership of the German Liberal Party and retained it for twenty years. As

a member of the standing committee for foreign affairs, he warned Austria of the dangerous policy of allying itself with Prussia against Denmark. Even more energetically he opposed the war with Prussia in 1866. Already a member of the French Legion of Honor, he received in 1867 the Order of Leopold from Francis Joseph, which gave him a title of nobility; but he never made use of it. The City of Vienna made him one of its honorary citizens.

Another of the anti-Semites of the day was Cardinal Rauscher, against whom Jellinek once delivered one of his famous pulpit attacks. In 1866, the Cardinal proposed to the *Landtag* of Lower Austria that Jewish foundlings should be baptized. His plan was frustrated by the brilliant speech of Kuranda, and the motion went down in defeat.

In 1860, Kuranda became an officer of the Jewish Community, and in 1871 he was elected its president. He held this office, as well as the presidency of the *Wiener Israelitische Allianz* which had been founded by Wertheimer, until his death in 1884. At the celebration arranged by the Austrian press on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, he adverted to the fact that he had spent forty years fighting for Germanism in Austria. That is why he, like Berthold Auerbach, felt the more keenly the reawakening of anti-Semitism in Austria, encouraged, as it was, not only by the clerical element but especially by the German nationalists.

What differentiated Kuranda from Jellinek was that he undertook to struggle for German ideals in general, whereas Jellinek limited himself to purely

Jewish matters. There was another difference in attitude between the two, namely that Kuranda, at the head of the community, paid due regard to the religious tendencies of the community and did not permit his personal views to come to the foreground. Thus, he met the orthodox half way by calling a halt to reforms in the religious service. He also supported the nationalist movement in favor of Hebrew led by Perez Smolenskin. Thanks to his noble sentiments, which were admitted even by his opponents, and to his superior intelligence, he raised the management of communal affairs to such a high level that the time of his administration was the most brilliant period of the Vienna Jewish Community.

Kuranda's thorough knowledge of political conditions in foreign countries stood him in good stead. He drew upon his personal experiences in these countries, especially in France, where he was highly respected. No one understood the international situation in Europe better than he. Equally powerful as a speaker and as a journalist, he was listened to and read with great attention. His wealth of ideas and of information was a subject of wonder. It used to be half-jestingly said that the caricaturists, finding his features so readily apt material for their art, practically earned a livelihood by drawing them. His *Ostdeutsche Post* was long the recognized organ of the German Liberals and the "Great Austrians." Ministers were among his coworkers. But when capitalism rose to power and

a new type of newspaper made its appearance, supported by the capitalists and defending their interests, Kuranda's purely political organ went under. He closed his last address, defending his candidacy before his Viennese constituency, with the following words: "I have executed your mandate purely and stainlessly; pure and stainless I restore it to your hands." This remark is expressive of the whole man. Such was his character and destiny.

PARTIES IN THE COMMUNITY

Even when the government was anxious in all good faith "to do right by all the Jews," it found its task none too easy. We have already noted this on various occasions, as early as the days of Joseph II, when military service was inaugurated among the Jews. For while numerous Jews in Vienna and elsewhere looked upon this as a sign of progress toward civic equality, certain orthodox circles of Hungary and Bohemia opposed it. Their grounds were that the Jew as a soldier would be hindered in the exercise of various religious practices. As Joseph did not agree with them, they turned to his successor Leopold, who was moved by their argument. The legislation of Emperor Joseph was rescinded and the Jews were absolved from military service. But sentiment in favor of it again rose under Emperor Francis.

Much more intense was the disagreement in the Jewish camp about the religious service. Deutsch.

the money-lender, succeeded in winning over to his side the reactionary government minister of public worship. The latter, in 1860, declared that the quarrel between orthodox and reform among Jews bore not only a religious but also a political character. He further said that orthodoxy, despite the pernicious character of some of its doctrines, nevertheless, politically adhered to monarchical traditions; whereas the reformers, who for the most part remained Jews only in the sense of denying Christianity, were politically the most zealous supporters of the modern leveling spirit, and therefore a danger to the State.

One month later, however, the State Minister Schmerling took a different point of view. "On the whole," he said, "one may understand—and Galicia offers proof—that the customs for which the Jewish school stands are a hindrance to culture and civilization. Less understandable, however, is the connection between these customs and the ideas of strict morality."

Thus were reflected in the ministry the various religious tendencies of the Jewish Community. The fall of Count Thun finally turned the scales in favor of the liberal element. The meaning of the entire situation is not far to seek, and has already been touched upon. The Empire of the Hapsburgs consisted of a number of States held together by force and diplomacy. Naturally, it contained also Jewish elements heterogeneous in origin and tendency.

The immigrants who came to Vienna between 1830 and 1860 were from many provinces and countries.*

While the important political circles of Western Austria were greeting with joy the religious progressiveness of the large German-Jewish communities, the vast majority of the Jews of Poland and Hungary were continuing in their staunch devotion to strict traditionalism. Moses Schreiber, the Rabbi of Pressburg, exerted his influence in an appeal to the government to forbid the Jews of Vienna from transacting business on Saturday. One of the Representatives of Vienna, related to the Rabbi by marriage, also acted in behalf of the conservatives, criticising some of his own colleagues, especially Biedermann, for their eagerness for reform. Further influence was exerted by Mordecai Baneth of Nikolsburg, who persuaded the Archbishop of Olmütz to take a stand against reform in Vienna. Baneth's views influenced Hofmann (later von Hofmannsthal), one of the Representatives, to stand by the conservatives. Besides Baneth, the orthodox Jews of Vienna also found an advocate in Eliezer Flekeles, the Chief Rabbi

*The agricultural country of Hungary, the poor of which overran Vienna in particularly large numbers, was represented in Vienna by sixty-five communities, Bohemia, with its well developed industry by fifty-four communities, Prague alone contributing by eighteen families, Moravia, which was quite close to Vienna, contributed 365 families out of forty-three communities, though Nikolsburg was represented by 127 families, Galicia had ten communities. (See the minutes of the *Israelitische Kinderbewahranstalt*.)

of Prague, among whose descendants is to be counted the well known poet Moritz Hartmann.

Of necessity this diversity had to lead to conflict in Vienna, where representatives of all shades of opinion were thrown together. The "Temple" had become the symbol of the tolerated Jews, that is of official representative Judaism. But the many Jews of whom there was presumably no official knowledge had established places of worship in the Judengasse (near the Seitenstettengasse), where Jewish second-hand merchants and dealers in old clothes abounded.

But when the Temple soon proved to be too small and a second house of worship was established, most worshipers in the new synagogue desired the appointment of a rabbi who would officiate in accordance with the Polish ritual. The communal Representatives entrusted this office to Rabbi Lazar Horwitz. In view of the fact that he could not legally bear the title of Rabbi, his official name was *Koscherfleischaufseher*, that is Supervisor of *Kasher* meat.

LAZAR HORWITZ

Lazar Horwitz was born in Bavaria and came to Vienna in 1829, on the recommendation of his teacher, Rabbi Moses Sofer (Schreiber) of Pressburg, head of Hungarian orthodox Jewry. They both remained in touch with each other, a fact which was of great importance to the community of Vienna. Horwitz followed in the footsteps of

his teacher, the Hatam Sofer. He advised Mannheimer in the compilation of by-laws of the Temple, which were written down for the first time in 1829 and countersigned by the most important members of the congregation. As a matter of fact he guided Mannheimer in all questions of ritual. True he obtained the consent of Moses Sofer to work hand in hand with Mannheimer. He performed an important service when he placed the unity of the congregation above every other consideration. He showed none of the intolerance of the orthodoxy of a later period. His coöperation with Mannheimer extended to the choice of *Piyyutim* for the prayer-book of the Temple, to the modification of the circumcision ceremony (that is to the abolition of the sucking up of the blood with the lips) and also to acting as a witness for Kompert in the lawsuit against him.*

The activity of Horwitz was in the direction of orthodoxy. He decided all ritual questions and formulated his decisions on legal problems referred to him, even from far away countries like the United States, in accordance with the orthodox point of view. Nevertheless, he took part in the service of

*Mannheimer's opinion on orthodox and reform Judaism, given in March, 1858, and still preserved in the archives of the community, is of interest. He rejects reform insofar as it is based on rationalism, discards revelation and tradition, breaks with historical Judaism in public worship, eliminates Hebrew, excludes the messianic passages in the prayer book, eliminates or shortens the reading from the Torah, and, in its extreme form, transfers the Sabbath to Sunday. Vienna, as Mannheimer emphasizes, rests upon conservatism.

the Temple, as did all the rabbis of the Hapsburg Monarchy. The orthodox Jews of Vienna also attended the services.

Horwitz was keenly interested in all questions that concerned the Jews. In a call "to the Jews of the Austrian Empire," issued in 1848, he called for an improvement in the political and social condition of the Jews. He proposed that the Jew be encouraged to take up agricultural pursuits. At that time, 1851, Adolf Fischhof had prepared, on the basis of his personal impressions of Galicia, a model statute for the establishment there of an *Israelitischer Ackerbauverein*, a Jewish Agriculture Society.

Horwitz, a peace-loving man, had certainly been the proper person to undertake the rabbinic functions in the Polish *Schul*, to which the communal representatives appointed him in 1836. At first, he enjoyed unquestioned authority among the orthodox who placed him at the head of the congregation, although, according to the statutes of the Vienna Community, the rabbi was not to be consulted on questions of ritual.

Very soon, however, a peculiar kind of opposition developed; Polish national feeling rose against "the Germans." Although the German members of the synagogue bore the heaviest share of its financial burden, nevertheless they had to yield to this national feeling and were forced to build a new house of worship for themselves. In addition, the ambitions of Joel Deutsch, the leader of Hungarian orthodoxy, led to still a third separation. Each

one of these parties besieged the government for concessions and subsidies, asking for contributions from the Jewish religious funds. As a result, the Imperial permission for the erection of a Temple in Leopoldstadt contained a specific request "that division should be avoided." Each one of these groups with orthodox tendencies now has its own synagogue.

CHAPTER VIII

COMMUNAL INSTITUTIONS

THE RELIGIOUS SCHOOL

THESE differences of religious outlook, strengthened as they were by social cleavage, made unified regulation of Jewish education very difficult. It was considered a political triumph when imperial recognition was obtained for the religious community, which now could be represented at the salon and at court. But the Jews were still reluctant to establish a Jewish community school.

They understood perfectly well that the study of Hebrew ought to be undertaken, for it was the language of the Bible. Early training in the language and the literature of their fathers would be a potent factor in winning the battle in behalf of Judaism. In Vienna, to be sure, the secular authorities had demanded the establishment of Jewish schools, even at a time when they decisively forbade the organization of a Jewish Community and the establishment of a synagogue.

As early as 1781, Joseph II asked the Viennese Jews through Adam Arnstein, their brave Representative, to engage three teachers for the purpose of conducting a normal school for Jewish children. This was to be the means by which "the character of the Jews was to be formed." But the Jews of that time feared that the establishment of a school

might develop a spirit of separatism. It was the same sort of fear which showed itself at the time when the "Temple" was being organized. Joseph himself was directly opposed to the segregation of the Jewish group. Had he not specifically granted permission to the Jewish children to attend the general schools?

His reason for demanding a Jewish school was obviously to gain control over the education of Jewish children in order to bring them under influences which he considered more desirable. This is apparent from the demands which the secular authorities repeatedly made upon the Jewish Representatives, that they exclude the so-called talmudic-rabbinic subjects from the curriculum in the education of the young. Whether the Representatives had similar views originally or not, they certainly accepted the views of the authorities with readiness. In the matter of religious worship the government acted inconsistently; at one time it prescribed that the worship be in German, but soon thereafter prohibited any innovation in the service. When, however, it was a matter of regulating the public education of the Jewish youth, the government was thoroughly consistent in requiring the elimination of the Talmud as a subject of study. Most outlandish ideas of the Talmud are still entertained not only in Vienna, but elsewhere in Christian and ignorant Jewish circles.

The Jews, on the other hand, in opposing Joseph II's plan for a school, contended that they would not be able properly to support it, since they were

not an organized community. Moreover, they regarded such a school as superfluous. For those who could afford to employ a private instructor did so, while others availed themselves of the general schools and sent their children there.

The Emperor resented the attitude the Jews took. They were repeatedly reminded of their delinquency. When, in 1784, they asked permission to erect a Temple, their request was rejected with a pointed reference to their refusal to establish a school. When, however, in 1812, they made ready to erect a building in which the essential communal institutions were to be housed, among them a religious school, they obtained permission to do so only after their attention had been called to the fact that they had again and again been ordered to establish a school.

From the Jewish school, therefore, against the foundation of which political considerations had outweighed religious necessities, there now developed a purely religious school. Until 1849, it was under State supervision. In the main the catechism *B'ne Zion* of Homberg was used as a text-book of religion. The school invited Mannheimer to come to Vienna as teacher.

The schools of the city demanded a grade in Religion as a part of the general report. Jewish pupils also had to have a grade in this subject, and yet the public schools gave no instruction in Judaism. The Communal Jewish school was therefore called upon to do so, although the authorities regarded it as merely a private institution. Parents who could

not afford to engage a private tutor for their children, or who did not want to do so because private tutoring had its disadvantages, found the school a very welcome institution, since it enabled their children to obtain the necessary instruction in religion. On the other hand, some pupils looked upon the school as nothing more than a means for obtaining grades. The teachers were frequently blamed by the parents for the bad marks of their children.

Mannheimer was not at all satisfied with the conduct of the school. In 1829, Dr. Saalschütz of Berlin was called to assist him. But there was no harmony between the two, nor were the Community's officers satisfied with Saalschütz's method of instruction. In 1835, the relationship was severed and Saalschütz accepted a call as rabbi of the community of Königsberg in Prussia and became professor at the university there. Leopold Breuer of Hungary took his place. He, too, had been a pupil of Moses Sofer. More attention was now paid to instruction in Hebrew, for which Breuer prepared a text-book. He built up a library in the community, which is now one of the oldest and most valuable of its kind.

THE COMMUNAL LIBRARY

The nucleus of the collection was a gift by Anton Schmid, the Christian publisher. He had been a benefactor also of the Vienna National Library, as had been Samuel Oppenheimer and Hofmannsthal.

In 1814, Schmid addressed to the Jewish "Community" a dedicatory letter in German, but in Hebrew letters, thanking "the entire Israelite Nation" for having helped him to rise from an ordinary typesetter to become the foremost publisher of Austria; at the same time he sent to the Community all the books which he had published, in beautiful bindings. He was only repaying a lawful debt.

Breuer requested the officers of the Community to establish a communal library, intended for the use of the teachers. The officers granted a stipend for this purpose, the amount of which was constantly increased. Later on, especially through the coöperation of Kuranda, the collection was greatly increased. Jellinek and S. Hammerschlag were also of service to the library. Hammerschlag was the first librarian, serving at first without compensation. M. E. Stern, the well known editor of *Kokebe Yizhak*, was also one of the librarians. Subsequently the library came under the direction of G. Wolf, the historian.

THE BETH HA-MIDRASH

Another famous institution, destined to produce a number of important scholars and serving to make Vienna the center of Jewish Science for the provinces, was the *Beth ha-Midrash*, founded by Jellinek in 1862. Among the lecturers there, besides Jellinek himself, were Horwitz, I. H. Weiss and M. Friedmann. In 1835, Horwitz had established a *Shas-Hebrah*, that is an organization for the study of the

Talmud. He thus revived Vienna's old reputation as a seat of Jewish learning. He himself was a descendant of Rabbi Sabbatai Horwitz, who lived in the second Vienna ghetto. His responsa during the years 1831-1854, posthumously published by his children under the title *Yad Eliezer*, deal with such questions as *Mezizah*,* traveling by railroad on the Sabbath, celebrating of the second day holiday outside of Palestine, and similar questions. Weiss is the well known author of the *History of Tradition (Dor Dor ve-Dorehav)*. Friedmann used to fascinate his audience by his lectures on the Midrash. These three scholars attracted a great many students. At the same time they encouraged scientific study of the Talmud in their periodical, *Beth Talmud*.

COMMUNAL AND INSTITUTIONAL LIFE

In 1763, a group of young people founded a society which they called *Hebrah Kaddisha shel Bahure Hemed be-Vina* (The Holy Society of Choice Young Men of Vienna). Its purposes were the following: 1. to conduct lectures on *Halakah* and *Haggadah* every Saturday, instead of spending the day in amusement; 2. to support the poor in a manner not humiliating to them; 3. to provide for poor brides; 4. to clothe the needy; 5. to visit the sick, provide them with medical treatment, pray for their restoration to health, and, in case of death,

*Absorbing the blood in circumcision by means of a sponge

to arrange for the recital of the *kaddish* by a relative, or an orphan of a neighboring community. The young founders of the society hoped by their example to encourage the older generation to engage in similar work. Every member undertook to devote some time daily to the study of the Talmud, privately or with a teacher. In view of the fact that communal worship was prohibited in Vienna, it was arranged that on every eve of *Rosh Hodesh* (New Moon), six members should take their turn in fasting. Offerings were made for the building of a synagogue, for the poor in Palestine, for the redemption of captives from pirates, and so on. When a member became ill, ten of his associates read the Psalms in his behalf daily and studied a chapter of the Mishna. As in other cases, anyone who was unable to perform his duties contributed money to the treasury of the organization or provided a substitute for himself.

In 1840, Wertheimer, who came to be known as "the Founder," established a Society for the *Encouragement of Manual Labor among the Jews of the Land*. Manual laborers who received their training here, however, were compelled to emigrate because of the continued exclusion of Jews from the guilds, and of the difficulties confronting Jewish apprentices in residing in Vienna, in spite of the fact that the Patent of Toleration gave Jews the right to learn the crafts. There are still workers in other countries, especially in the United States, who look back to this organization with gratitude for having provided them with the means of obtaining a livelihood elsewhere.

Above all, it was necessary to overcome the unwillingness of Christian masterworkers and journeymen to accept Jewish apprentices. Referring to the Jewish Patent of August 3, 1798, which aimed to uplift "a class of citizens sunk so far beneath the dignity of human beings" as were the Jews, the local government of Prague, in 1798, proposed a cash premium to all Christian workers and employers who accepted a Jewish apprentice. The extraordinary comment was added that "prizes are also offered for the destruction of harmful animals, for the improvement of horse-breeding and cotton culture, for the return of deserters, and for saving the asphyxiated and the drowning, etc." The encouragement of manual labor among the Jews was viewed sympathetically by the Jews themselves. They commenced to learn some of the heaviest kind of labor, such as that of blacksmith, coppersmith, machinist, and locksmith.

In 1821, the wife of Isaac Wolf Nassau founded a Women's Society (*Frauenverein*). Like similar organizations in Vienna, it received a substantial donation from Rothschild. The income of the society was considerably increased through the efforts of J. Biedermann, one of its leaders. He was known for his Yiddish-German satirical dramas upon the frailties of the Vienna Jews, particularly those of the tolerated class. Joseph Fischhof, professor at the Conservatory, wrote the music for these short plays, and men and women of Viennese society presented them for the benefit of the organ-

ization. The subjects are apparent from their titles, *Israel in Floribus*, *Emancipated Jews*, *The Kobelsdorfers*, etc. It is a matter of regret that, as far as I know, these valuable pictures of the time have not been preserved.

A brief history of the rise and growth of the communal hospital is not without interest. A *Hekdesh*, that is a hospital for the sick, the incurable, the aged, and the transients, is named in a charter in 1379, and a caretaker of a home for the aged is mentioned in 1393. There was a large hospital as well as a small one, in the Second Ghetto, and, after 1666, also a hospital for epidemic diseases near the cemetery. According to report, this hospital with the cemetery adjoining became the property of Samuel Oppenheimer, who seems to have taken it over from the magistrates of Vienna along with the promise of preserving the graves, which they made to the Frankl family in 1670. The Oppenheimers, in 1723, built a small hospital on the place of the hovel then standing there. Joseph II, in 1785, ordered the Jews to renovate this hospital. But, as the Jews had no communal organization, they could not legally acquire the hospital, which was still in the possession of the now impoverished Oppenheimer family. Accordingly, they were granted, in 1792, the official right to elect Representatives. These men were empowered to impose a tax upon the community for the maintenance of the hospital. This marked the actual beginning of the Jewish Community of Vienna. The hospital bore the

inscription: "Health Dispensary for Suffering Humanity, Erected in 1793 by the Israelite Nation Resident Here."

One of the Representatives, Solomon Herz, who moved to Vienna from Hamburg, made the building possible by providing a large part of the cost, partly as a loan, partly as a gift. The hospital of the present day was erected eighty years later, at the expense of the Rothschild family. Hence, it is still popularly known as the *Rothschildspital*.

One institution of Vienna cannot be equaled by that of any other large community. It is the *Israelitische Kinderbewahranstalt* (Kindergarten) established by Joseph Wertheimer, in 1843. Wertheimer had realized the usefulness of the kindergartens he had seen on his travels in foreign countries, especially in England. Accordingly, in spite of many difficulties, he established one in one of the districts of Vienna, in 1833. When, through his coöperation, it proved successful, he founded another in Leopoldstadt, the Jewish quarter of Vienna. Naturally this was used exclusively by Jewish children, though in principle others were not excluded. Wertheimer's pedagogic sense made it possible to transform the kindergarten from one of charity, in which the children of the poor received supervision, nourishment, amusement, and, at certain times, even clothing, into an important educational project. He introduced Froebel's methods of education here. In more recent times, the kindergarten has kept pace with the Montessori movement and with others advocating the newest educational methods. In

1868, Wertheimer, on the basis of his observations in Germany, established the first courses for kindergarten teachers in Austria. He also established day nurseries. The diploma of the institution was recognized by the State—a unique distinction for a private course of study, especially one connected with a Jewish establishment. This kindergarten has remained on the same site since 1858. It has stood under the protection of two Empresses and was in close touch with the most important Jewish circles through a supervisory board of ladies. Wertheimer succeeded in gaining the attention of these circles for his work, and it maintained its social level after his time. The *Wohlfahrt* (Welfare) organization, an offspring of the Committee for the Saving of Jewish Philanthropic Institutions, has been the means of preventing the dissolution of the *Kinderbewahranstalt* after the War and still supports and directs it.*

THE TEMPLE IN THE LEOPOLDSTADT DISTRICT

The number of Jews in Vienna increased rapidly. From 3,739 in the year 1846, it grew to 9,731 in the year 1850, and to between 14,000 and 15,000 in 1854. The officers of the Community therefore envisaged the necessity of erecting a second synagogue. The very appearance of the new synagogue was to be emblematic of the changed political status

*See Appendix R, p. 525.

of the Jews. It was also to face the street and not like the first synagogue, be hidden inside of a court. It was decided to erect it in Leopoldstadt. It was to be one befitting a large community, and have three or four times as many seats as the first Temple, which seated only 500 worshipers.

The necessary permission for the erection of the Temple building was obtained in 1854, since application had to be made to the Emperor at that time.

Förster, who built the *Nordbahnhof* (Northern Railroad Station), was also the builder of the Temple. Moritz Königswarter was particularly interested in the building. Finally, on March 15, 1858, it was dedicated in the presence of many notables, among them Bruck, the Minister of Finance, and founder of the *Triester Lloyd*. Adolf Jellinek was chosen preacher and Joseph Goldstein, who had received an excellent artistic training under Marquesi, was made Cantor.

This Temple is the only synagogue outside of the one on the Seitenstettengasse that was built by the community. In 1917, it suffered from a fire but was restored in 1921 by private funds.

Four of the other Jewish places of worship in Vienna are in the suburbs. They are administered from the city, because the surrounding Jewish population forms part of the Vienna Community. All the other places of worship belong to independent congregations, among them the so-called Turkish Temple, where the Sephardim worship in accordance with their own ritual. There is also the *Schiffschul*, the chief synagogue of Hungarian orthodoxy. The

name is due to its location on the Grosseschiffgasse. Finally, there is the Polish *Schul* (Synagogue). These three are in the Leopoldstadt District and had their beginnings before 1867.

No new reforms were introduced in the communal temples. This was because of the influence of Mannheimer, whose sympathies were conservative.*

The Community adopted new by-laws on July 30, 1876, which provided for a communal tax ranging from 10 to 500 florins. It granted the right to vote to any one who had resided in Vienna for three years and had contributed to the Community. A plurality was necessary to elect the executive officers, and not, as hitherto, a majority.

THE TURKISH TEMPLE

The synagogue organization of the Sephardic Jews goes back to the Peace of Passarowitsch between Austria and Turkey in 1718, confirmed in the final treaty of peace signed at Belgrade in 1739. Under its terms the right of residence and of freedom of trade were mutually extended by each country to the citizens of the other. In order to enjoy similar privileges, Austrian Jews soon found means of acquiring Turkish citizenship, but a court decree in 1837 barred this method. Tradition has it that in 1745, Diego de Aguilar contributed to the purchase of the sacred vessels necessary for divine

*His standing in orthodox circles is indicated by the fact that he was called to Nikolsburg for the installation, as district rabbi, of S. R. Hirsch, the founder of the new German orthodoxy.

service among the Sephardim dwelling in Vienna. A synagogue splendid in appearance and built in the style of a mosque, was in existence by 1778. According to the by-laws, the presiding officer had to be able to read and write. If, contrary to expectation, he was found to be illiterate, a qualified adjutant had to be chosen to serve with him. An imperial agent supervised the administration of the society. The Sephardic Jews also organized a religious school in which the Bible was taught in Hebrew. They also had a *Hebrah Kaddisha* and a *Hebrah de Rohazim*, the latter being an organization for the washing of a body preparatory for burial. The Sephardic community also had a *Kuppat Aniyye ha-'Ir* (a fund for the local poor).*

*Several printed works in Ladino appeared in Vienna: a Bible translation, in 1813; the *Pirke Abot*, 1852, *Selhot*, 1865; *Roskas de Purim*, 1866, *Pele Yo'ez*, 1870, *Dat Yehudit* (*The Duties of Women*), 1881, a translation of the Songs of Songs, 1889; *Historia de Alexandros el Grande*, 1890, a primer, 1891, a calendar, 1868, Shemtob Semo's *Guerta de Historia*, 1864, Israel Semo's *El Dragoman*, 1865, A. Semo's semi-monthly, *El Correo de Viena*, started in 1870.

CHAPTER IX

BEGINNINGS OF A LIBERAL POLICY IN THE GOVERNMENT

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF VIENNESE JEWRY FROM 1859 TO 1867

THE unfortunate peace of Solferino brought economic misfortune. Yet, the freedom to engage in industry, granted to the Jews on December 29, 1859, opened for them the very important field of retail merchandising from which they had been excluded. They began to enter the furniture business and especially the ready-made garment industry.

They also took charge of the underwear and the umbrella business. In the place of the "beehive," as Sigmund Mayer aptly designated the 120 houses into which the entire Jewish textile business had been huddled between the Hohe Markt and the Salzgries, there now arose 400 impressive buildings along the Danube Canal, all the way up to the Schottenring. This *Kai*, as it was called, became the showplace of important Jewish business houses. The growing of business brought about a lowering of prices. Traveling salesmen were introduced who did away with the unethical competition and crude methods of the past. It was no longer necessary to pursue customers who came to Vienna; it was now possible to interview them in their own places of

business. Moreover, a great step forward was made with the development of chemical processes. The textile merchants, who until then were quite dependent upon a very few textile factories, were now able to deliver Austrian raw material to the highly developed printers on the Rhine, who stamped the cloth in accordance with the wishes of the merchant. Soon there were two hundred such Jewish firms in Vienna. Several important factories soon arose, like those of the firms of Lederer and Wolf, Hermann Pollak's Sons, and others.

Jews were soon able to find employment in banking-houses and were no longer obliged to turn to merchandising. They also engaged in manual labor and manufacturing. The Jewish intellectuals at that time formed an even higher percentage among the Jews, and a still higher one among the general population, than they do today. They exerted an important social and political influence. In constant touch with Christian men of culture, they were received in the two clubs of the time, the *Nieder-österreichischer Gewerbeverein* and the *Juridisch-politischer Leseverein*, both of which are still in existence. At least open feeling against the Jew had disappeared. The Vienna Jew had acclimatized himself completely. He had adapted himself without becoming assimilated, that is without giving up his distinctive character. Viennese affability reigned everywhere, affecting everyone without distinction or exception. Cultured Christians who had anti-Jewish feelings were actually ashamed to admit it openly.

THE PROVISIONAL COMMUNITY DECREE
OF 1852

According to paragraph 1 of the Constitution of 1849, the enjoyment of civic and political rights did not depend upon one's religious persuasion. On August 26, 1849, the Minister of Public Worship and Education announced that the Emperor desired to make equality of rights prevail to as great an extent and as soon as possible. On November 18, 1849, the Minister of Justice, von Schmerling, issued a statement setting forth principles of equality, at the same time advocating the legality of civil marriage, which until then had been forbidden.

As soon as the law permitted the formation of a Jewish Community, the Vienna Jews had to carry it into effect. In August, 1850, the "Representatives and Delegates of the Israelite Religious Community" handed to the authorities a draft of a constitution for the Community, under which the communal executive officers were to be completely autonomous. In Hungary, the government appointed the officials of the community; in Moravia and Bohemia, likewise, the Jews formed political communities; in Trieste, Lombardy, and Venetia the executive officers were, indeed, elected by the community, but had to be ratified by the government. The religious community of Lower and Upper Austria thus received particular distinction. Moreover, its rabbi became an official of the executive committee. The religious Community of Vienna was considered a religious brotherhood and not a

political organization. It was authorized to impose a direct communal tax, ranging from 10 to 100 florins. Its executive committee was to consist of five representatives and fifteen advisers. These were offices of honor and non-remunerative. The religious school was no longer to be under the supervision of the State.

On January 14, 1852, this constitution was approved, but only "provisionally." A few weeks previously the constitution of March 4, 1849, had been abrogated, whereupon the City Council of Vienna sought to rescind the grant of equality to the Jews. Nevertheless, Dr. Zelinka, the vice-mayor, later famous as burgomaster, and several other city councilors, succeeded in forestalling such action. The statue to Zelinka may well remind the Viennese Jews of this fact.

In 1848, Jews were permitted to acquire real estate. All the highest officials, with the exception of the Minister of Agriculture and Mining, permitted them to continue in the exercise of this right. But the lower officials frequently sought to revive the conditions existing under the regulations in vogue before 1848. Finally, on July 29, 1853, the Emperor decreed that "provisionally" the regulations prevailing before 1848 were to be followed. Only where Jews had acquired real estate since 1848, were they to be permitted to retain it. Prussian Jews had no difficulties in acquiring real estate because Austrian Jews were permitted to do so in Prussia. Similarly other foreign Jews were privileged.

Although the upper circles tended towards Catholicism, they did not ostracize the Jews socially. Even members of the government were favorably disposed to them, as one may see by the stand they took on the establishment of Jewish public schools. Influenced by the officials of the Community, who sensed a danger for the social position of the Jewish people, the government did not permit the establishment of separate schools.

Elections for communal officials were held twice between 1852 and 1858. In the latter year, elections were postponed from day to day in expectation of the new law.

JACQUES' PAMPHLET

Thus, with the annulment of the constitution of 1849, the Jews were forced back into the condition obtaining before 1848. To be sure, the decree of annulment of December 31, 1851, read: "The equality before the law of those belonging to the State is specifically confirmed." This, however, did not mean anything but a theoretical equalization of religious faiths. It clearly and practically involved a repudiation of Jewish emancipation, and especially removal from such offices as had been open between 1848 and 1851. Against these intolerable conditions Dr. Heinrich Jacques issued a pamphlet which aroused general interest.

Jacques was a well known Jewish lawyer and politician, and he subjected the legal status of Austrian Jewry to a keen logical criticism. He

declared that it was impossible that the old status should continue. He maintained that the new regulations, in the interest of Austria itself, should unequivocally declare that all civil, communal and national rights be completely independent of religious belief.

Jacques took the position of an Austrian patriot, and as such fought for the Jews, the pariahs of Europe. He turned against the anti-Jewish agitation of Sebastian Brunner and his cohorts. He sought the closest possible relationship with Germany, "because all that Austria must attain in the briefest possible time is and always will be solely and exclusively the native product and flower of the true German spirit. Our pride and our comfort are that great store of German science and literature, Lessing and Schiller, Goethe and Alexander von Humboldt."

In his *Memorial on the Status of the Jews in Austria*, which went through four editions in the course of a few weeks, Dr. Jacques wrote: "Whoever has passed the meridian of life, and, despite the treatment of the Jews by Austria, has not permitted himself to lose his warm interest in intellectual effort, in the material and political welfare of the community, and in the progress of the Fatherland, such a one possesses spiritual assets which are more valuable than anything he may have achieved and attained in practical life. The sharpest arrows of State legislation glance off ineffectually from the charmed shield of those gifted with such indestructible qualifications. The State can neither give to

us nor take from us these, which we hold of greatest value in life." The central idea of his pamphlet was as follows: "By excluding its Jews from the rights of freedom of enterprise, of the ownership of property, and of the attainment of civil and political offices, Austria allows a substantial part of its material and spiritual national capital to lie idle. It makes of its Jews unproductive consumers instead of generally useful producers. Austria harms itself by driving the material capital of the Jews into cosmopolitan trade instead of identifying it with the fate of the Fatherland. Instead, it ought to do all it can to draw them in the direction in which their own nature and their own interests lead them, toward patriotic activity in the development of property, agriculture, mining and manufacture. Austria permits the spiritual wealth of the Jews to evaporate aimlessly and ineffectually, when by its own laws it forces them to devote their energies to a quest for possessions and riches."

Dr. Jacques reviewed the Austrian legislation concerning the Jews. He began by calling attention to paragraph 17 of the Constitution of April 25, 1848, which commences, "All citizens of the State are granted complete freedom of faith and conscience, as well as personal freedom." He then summarized what happened that year. The Reichstag, on October 5, abolished special Jewish taxes, which had amounted to 80,000 florins in the preceding August. Meanwhile a deputy had proposed a resolution for the complete emancipation of the Jews, but the disorders of October intervened. Then

the Emperor ordered, towards the end of 1848, the abolition of the so-called *Schleiertaxe*, the tax on Jewish marriages. The Emperor also opened the doors of the Gymnasia to Jewish students without the necessity of obtaining consent from the local government, and he ordered the abolition of the religious identification clause in passports.

Dr. Jacques then referred to the Constitution of March 4, 1849, citing paragraphs 1 and 2, by which the complete emancipation of the Jews was established. He then took up the second great foundation-stone in the new order of the Empire, the Community-law of March 17, 1849, which declared the civic status of a citizen independent of his religious belief. Moreover, he called attention to paragraph 28 of the Imperial Constitution, which announced that "public offices and service of the State are open to all qualified persons." Specifically, then, a Jew no longer needed the permission of the district official to get married; he could act as a witness against a Christian, in support of another Jew; he needed no other oath in a court of law than the usual formula, "So help me God," the old Jewish oath being abolished.

Dr. Jacques held that this civic and political equality effected a disappearance of Jewish nationality. A separate Jewish language or Jewish script in his opinion was "like a private language of freemasons or Trappists," and merited no greater attention. The Austrian Jew, the Bohemian Jew, etc., was an Austrian like any other citizen.

THE PATENT OF FEBRUARY (1861) AND
THE ANNULMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION
(1865)

Dr. Jacques' arguments, by their effect upon public opinion, contributed considerably to the abolition of all the medieval restrictions upon the civic rights of the Jews.

The injunction against having Christian servants was abolished in 1859. In 1860, Jews were allowed to testify against Christians. Jews were permitted to become apothecaries. They were allowed to settle in districts heretofore closed to them. Above all, they were granted the right to own real estate, a privilege for which they were so grateful that they struck a medal to celebrate the event. Towards the end of 1859, an occupational law was promulgated under which Jewish manual laborers could become masterworkmen. The higher as well as the lower clergy here and there raised protests against this law, as well as against some of the other laws. They declared such laws "threats to the Catholic religion." But most of the people of Vienna, except the shoemakers' guild, approved of the new legislation in behalf of the Jews.

On February 26, 1861, the liberal ministry of Schmerling issued the patent containing the Imperial Constitution granted by the Government. Even if this patent did not as yet grant complete equality, it was a forerunner of such equality, for it showed the liberal tendencies of the new government beyond a shadow of doubt.

The principle of religious equality had already prevailed to such an extent as to bring about the election of Jews to the City Council of Vienna, as well as to the Councils of some of the suburbs. Ignaz Kuranda, Wilhelm Frankl, and Moritz Pollack were among those selected. Kuranda was decorated with the Order of the Iron Crown and had a right to use *von* before his name. Pollack was made Baron von Bortenau, and became President of the Religious Community. Simon Winterstein, afterwards Baron von Winterstein, was given a place in the Landtag and in the Reichsrat.

Jews were now admitted to practice law, hold the office of notary, enter the civil service and hold offices in the courts of law. Louis Jacoby of Berlin became Professor of the Art of Engraving at the Vienna Academy of the Plastic Arts. Simon Spitzer was made Professor of Mathematics at the Polytechnikum. Carl Weil was appointed *Regierungsrat* (State Councilor) in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In fact, there were many appointments of Jews to prominent positions.

Suddenly, on September 20, 1865, the Constitution was annulled. But it was not for long, for the defeat in the Prussian War of 1866 opened the way for another fundamental law of the State.

THE FINAL COMMUNITY PATENT

All the provisional statutes became permanent only in July 1867, under that excellent Minister of Worship, von Hye. The permanent regulations

differed from the provisional ones in withdrawing control of the western suburbs of Vienna from the Viennese Jewish Community, although subsequently, when these became part of the city, they again came under the community's control. The orthodox Jews of Lower Austria demanded and received the right to be consulted on important religious affairs. "In matters of religion and ritual," read the new order, "decisions can be reached only by the entire rabbinate with the assistance of trustworthy representatives of the executive officers from the various synagogues, conducted according to the ancient ritual."

The government still follows Joseph II, in refusing to recognize sectarian differences among the Jews, despite the efforts of the orthodox Jews to the contrary. It wanted to have only one single religious community to deal with as representative of Jewish life. In the early fifties it excluded Jewish sects from the protection of the law. When it gave permission for the erection of the Temple in Leopoldstadt in 1854, it stipulated that no subsidiary building should be undertaken.

The external rights of the Religious Community were not finally regulated until 1888, under Gautsch, the Minister of Worship. But when the government made the first step in that direction, it stated, in paragraph 2 of the Fundamental Law of December 31, 1867, that absolute unity must exist in the religious community. In order to safeguard freedom of conscience, this Constitution definitely stated in paragraph 25 that there must be absolute freedom

in the expression of religious convictions and especially in the practice of religious rites. Every religious community, therefore, was obligated to maintain as many houses of worship as were necessary, with particular regard to the differences in ritual existing among its members. The advisability was also considered of establishing a chief-rabbinate, such as existed in Moravia, and in various other administrative districts. At an early date, the suggestion was made to establish a consistorial system on the model of that existing in other lands. But the proposal was defeated, chiefly on account of existing religious differences.

JUDAISM AND THE SPIRIT OF VIENNA

The effect of Dr. Jacques's pamphlet may be gathered from the opinion passed by non-Jews on the conditions which he set forth.

At that time Austria saw the growth in certain localities of a vicious element which Kürnberger described with patriotic indignation as "South German laxity, multiplied by Slavic slovenliness, raised to the second power by spiritual and secular misgovernment, indolence, frivolity, moral degeneracy, unmentionable knavishness, lustfulness, lewdness, smuttiness, hatred of culture, and dumb, debauched, self-satisfied, unmitigated rascality." Herman Bahr also gave his impression of the new situation: "The man of fine character draws back; actual life is in the hands of the impostor, for all is deceit and delusion. No one knows how the Viennese

will act; their conduct is incalculable." According to Hebbel, "Real human beings are isolated and powerless." Have the Jews of Vienna any share of blame for this sad state of affairs? The Jews no doubt did exert an influence on the character of the population in Budapest, Amsterdam and, to a far greater extent, in the Austrian capital. However, in the days before March, Jewish influence was at a minimum and it was not harmful. At that time, the baptized Jew, who generally made a very unfavorable impression upon his surroundings, did not occupy so large a place in the general picture of Vienna Jewry as he did a generation later. The Jew of the Biedermeier era was still closely in touch with the Jewish culture of former days. Nor did the Jews of that time constitute as yet, as did some of them in the time of Makart, a heterogeneous mass made up of aesthetes, poseurs, and faddists. Later, the Jew in his quest for freedom and knowledge developed some unpleasant characteristics in his anxiety to obtain them. He was like a plant in a dark cellar, which contorts itself in the strangest manner to reach any sunlight that is let in.

In contradistinction to these uprooted Jews, against which a large part of Vienna cultural anti-Semitism directed itself, were the "true Jews" for whom Bahr expressed his respect. "Such a Jew," he said, "has no power in the City of Vienna. What a pity! It could well use his diligence, his industry and his serious view of life."

According to Bahr, Vienna had suffered from so-called "Jewish contamination" long before the

Jews penetrated into influential positions. The deterioration of character, the development of knavery and deceit were brought about by the sufferings under the Francis regime, which ate like a cancer into the life of the entire Viennese population. As a matter of fact, the Jews, the very group that suffered most in opposing that regime, gained in strength of character and led in the glorious struggles for that justice which was denied them. The new Constitution of the State was in a sense their triumph.

THE CONSTITUTION

It is worth detailing some of the humane and liberal provisions in the great Constitution of December 21, 1867. Article 2 says: "All citizens of this State are equal before the law." Article 3 states that public office is equally attainable by all citizens of the State. Article 6 grants every citizen of the State the right to remain and establish his residence in any part of the State's territory. He may legally acquire property and freely make use of it, and exercise any occupation according to law. Article 14 provides for complete freedom of faith and of conscience to everyone; the enjoyment of civic and political rights is made independent of religious convictions. At the same time, however, civic duties must not be interfered with on account of religious persuasion. No one may be compelled to attend church or witness church ceremonies except insofar as he is legally subordinate to a religious

superior. Article 15 says that every legally recognized church and religious association possesses the right openly to exercise its common religious worship; it may order and administer its internal affairs; it remains in possession and enjoyment of the institutions, foundations, and funds set aside for purposes of worship, education, and charity; but, like any other association, it is subject to the general laws of the State. Article 17 decrees that the pursuit and teaching of science are free. Every citizen has a right to establish cultural and educational institutions and to teach in them, provided he has legally proved his ability to do so. Religious associations or Churches are to bear the burden of the religious instruction given in their respective schools. Article 18 proclaims that every man is free to choose his occupation, and to prepare himself for it wherever and however he pleases.

The Constitution was the crowning work of centuries; it was a victory for the Jews of Vienna after their long-continued struggle. Each generation had handed to the next the banner on which was inscribed the phrase, "Equality of Rights," as a motto and a call to arms. Human and civic rights had been denied the Jews by those who would surrender only to the greater power of political necessity. The only shining exceptions were Joseph II and Francis Joseph. For it is well known that Francis Joseph, as a constitutional monarch, carried out the exacting duties of government with exemplary conscientiousness, and the Jews of Vienna will be ever grateful to his memory because, during the

days of growing anti-Semitism, he continued to be a righteous and sympathetic ruler toward them especially. When, in 1849, several cities objected to the amalgamation of their Jewish communities with the general civic organization, and appealed to the privileges granted to them under Maria Theresa, Francis Joseph replied: "We are not living in the days of the Empress. All my subjects have equal obligations and, therefore, also equal rights." It was at that time that he appointed Jacob Goldenthal, the Semitic scholar, to the University of Vienna, and the jurist Wolf Wessely to the University of Prague.

An incident showing the deep sense of justice and gratitude that the young monarch had, occurred in 1850. During a military review he noticed a corporal who wore numerous decorations. He asked the commanding officer why the obviously worthy soldier had not been promoted to a higher rank. The answer was that his name was Abraham Schwarz and he was a Jew. Thereupon, Francis Joseph replied: "In the Austrian army there are no Jews, only soldiers, and a soldier who deserves it becomes an officer." He ordered Schwartz to step forward, and then remarked to the commanding officer: "This soldier ought to carry an officer's sword."

A variety of other liberal sentiments are known to have been uttered by Francis Joseph. "I know of no distinctions among religions," he said at one time; "each man may belong to his own religious group. Everyone is alike before the Law. . . . Unconditional equality of rights in every instance

is a rule of justice." He also said that he was ashamed that anti-Semitism had penetrated into Austria. When the anti-Semitic actions of the Landtag (Diet) of Lower Austria came to his attention in 1892, he was indignant. "It is a scandal and a disgrace before the whole world," he burst out, "the way things are going on over there. I do not know what to say about it." In 1894, he assured a deputation of Hungarian Jews that "religious differences do not form a barrier between me and my people." He recognized the loyalty and the law-abiding character of the Jews, before a deputation of Austrian Jews in 1908, and added with emphasis: "I value your sense of family life and your joy in deeds of benevolence." It will never be forgotten that, despite his own insistence on ceremonial conventions, he declared a Rothschild eligible for presentation at Court, and persisted in his refusal to ratify the selection of the anti-Semitic Dr. Lueger as Burgomaster.

BOOK VII—THE MODERN PERIOD

CHAPTER I

FROM THE ATTAINMENT OF CIVIL RIGHTS TO THE PRESENT TIME

THE LIBERAL ERA

WITH the granting of the Constitution in 1867 Austria entered the ranks of democracy. Authority in the State was now divided between the crown and the People, and in accordance with the wording of the new Constitution Austria was transformed from a State based upon police power into one founded on law. Ever since then every citizen has been considered legally free. The law protects him in person and property, in his choice of occupation and in his religion, insofar as it is recognized by the State. The nation legally acquired rights and privileges which other European countries had received long before.

For the Jews in Austria all this meant the beginning of a new period in their history. Before 1848, they were, with few exceptions, without status, in the position of tenants who could claim no protection for their tenant-rights, and they therefore had to pay a high tax for permission to reside in Austria. After 1848, they had the status of suspicious characters and were under the surveillance of the police and

at the mercy of the ruler and the caprices of changing governments. Twenty years later, exactly six hundred years after the Church Council of Vienna had strictly excluded the Jews from Christian society, Jews sat in the legislative bodies of Austria, in the Imperial Council, in the *Landtag* of Lower Austria, and in the City-Council of Vienna. But yesterday buffeted by fate, they were now actively engaged in the organization and direction of national and city life. Helots and migrants became masters of their fate.

Their self-respect was enhanced by the feeling that their elevation was well-earned. They had by their own efforts achieved their freedom. Men like Kuranda, Fischhof, and Hartmann had been in the vanguard fighting for freedom. After them, other Jews continued to offer valuable assistance to the German Liberal Party, which ushered in the liberal era and brought about the promulgation of the Constitution. Furthermore, it is clear that despite changes in currents of thought, and despite opposing tendencies within the government itself, the leaders were on the whole more conscientious in Austria than in many other States. The Jews rose in greater numbers to high place during the succeeding decades both in the arts and the sciences, as well as in other fields of human endeavor. Jewish counselors sat in the supreme court. Through the appointment by the Emperor, Jews occupied seats in the *Herrenhaus*, the Upper House of Parliament, alongside of Archdukes. He even appointed one Jew to the highest rank in the army, and another to the chief office in

the army's medical staff. No one took umbrage at the fact that men of Jewish origin became ministers of State. Thus Haymerle, Unger, Glaser, Steinbach, and later on Klein, enacted most important laws. Grübel, the Burgomaster of Vienna, Prime Minister Beck, and Hainisch, the head of the State, married women of Jewish origin. Bilinski, one of the best known of the country's ministers of finance, was also related to Jews by marriage.

Grateful for this attitude, the Jews maintained an unshaken loyalty to the German Liberal Party. Yet this very loyalty was destined to prove fatal to them when the nationalistic and clerical reaction set in.

The Liberal Party, the party of '48, was the only one whose program promised to aid the Jews in the maintenance of their equal rights. The Germans were considered the leaders of culture even among the non-German peoples of Austria. From the time of Joseph II, the German nationals formed the backbone of the Austrian Centrists. The Jews of Vienna were German in education and culture. Sonnenfels had introduced the German national point of view into the literature of Vienna, as Mendelssohn had done in Berlin. And if the north-German Jews had given a Heine and a Börne to German literature, the Viennese Jews produced a Sonnenthal—probably the foremost actor in the German tongue—and founded the *Neue Freie Presse* which they like to hear praised as the best-written German newspaper. Had not Francis Joseph himself boasted that he was a German prince? Was not Vienna, even after 1866, a German city, the meeting place of pan-German

organizations, the scene of celebrations at which all Germans fraternized? How then, in view of all this, was it possible for the Jews not to feel themselves a part of German Liberalism?

And yet, the German Jew in Austria was soon destined to experience the same fate that the Jew frequently had to undergo during the course of the centuries. His services were accepted and he was forgotten.

The suffering to which the Slavic elements of the population were subjected by political oppression for many decades aroused a burning hatred for the Germans of Austria. When Austria, after 1866, was separated from Germany, and the Slavs greatly outnumbered the Germans, the latter more than ever sought to become the dominating power. They pointed to the superiority of German culture, and prided themselves upon the services which it had rendered as an educational force. All this resulted in propaganda in favor of joining Germany, which found little response in the Austrian masses, who were anything but pro-Prussian. But as soon as this anti-Hapsburg movement adopted as part of its program the racial theory of anti-Semitism, it was taken up by the anti-liberal circles among the clergy and upper nobility. The German liberals were thus called upon to defend their Germanism against the Slavs, and their liberalism against the reactionary Germans. Naturally, the Jewish members and electors were exposed to hatred from both groups. Under no circumstances did the liberal party want to appear as a Jewish party. Despite this feeling,

however, that is precisely what their opponents called them. Thus it becomes clear why the German Liberal Press carefully avoided referring to the Jews and why the Liberal party, when in power, did not appoint them to office. It did not want, for the sake of the Jews, to jeopardize its position with the German lower classes in the country districts, who had in reality always been unfriendly to the Jews.

Politically-minded Jews did not oppose this stand taken by the liberals. Jews had already attained so much! Economically they had risen to great heights. It was the hey-day of prosperity, whose motto was "get rich." It was the age when counts and princes metaphorically became "Jews," i. e., jugglers in finance and speculators on the Exchange, while Jews became barons. A number of Jews were ennobled for their services in 1864. They in turn helped into positions of power and into places in society their ambitious coreligionists who had risen from trade to manufacturing and whose newly acquired wealth was set off by the social talents of their aspiring wives. On still lower rungs of the economic ladder, retailers were added to the wholesale merchants, for merchandizing continued to be the very foundation of Jewish activity. What is more, Jews began to be represented in the small artisan class. This last development multiplied the points of contact between the lowest classes of Christian and Jew, which resulted in mutual friction and envy arising from competition.

However, the Jew was treated by the local authorities not only with justice but even with sympathetic consideration. He probably would not have received

as good treatment from a Jewish judge or police captain. It once happened, in fact, that the president of the House of Representatives wanted to postpone a session because of the Day of Atonement, but the Jewish members of that body successfully opposed his endeavors. They did not want to be reminded that they were Jews, much less to call attention to it. The Jewish members of Parliament always absented themselves whenever a topic of interest to the Jews came up for discussion, or, if present by chance or necessity, they buried their heads in the papers before them. And yet, they allowed themselves to be used as catspaws against the granting of special rights to the Church. "I will not permit my German heart to be torn out of my breast," one of them grandiloquently exclaimed. "I refused to be baptized from a feeling of loyalty and self-respect." Still another, who devoted a great masterpiece to the Greek thinkers, expressed regret in his memoirs that through an oversight he had omitted to have himself baptized. Friedjung, the most important historian of the new Austria, blames his fellow-Jews for not having made an end to the wanderings of Ahasuerus. Indeed, Siegmund Mayer, who had offered the most brilliant portrayal of Vienna's Jewry out of his own experience, honestly admits, "I never gave a thought to the fact that I was Jewish until the advent of anti-Semitism." We have here a confirmation of Eduard von Hartmann's statement that "Judaism was in a fair way of de-Judaizing itself, till anti-Semitism made its appearance."

These *fin-de-siècle* Jews took absolutely no interest in Judaism. As long as their surroundings did not remind them of their Jewish heritage, it caused them no inner discomfort. So small was the part that it played in their consciousness that they did not even think it worth the trouble to give it up and formally adopt Christianity. The idea of baptism evoked from them a smile and a shrug with the comment, "Jewish nonsense." Wherever they saw manifestations of religious zeal, they charitably attributed it to atavistic folly. They fought against Jewish "clericalism," just as they did against the domination of the Catholic Church. Mixed marriages were the order of the day. Not only princes of the old debt-ridden nobility, but even members of the reigning families became related through marriage to the Jews. Nowhere did the Jews become so assimilated as they did in Vienna. The horizon of all Viennese was bounded by the Wienerwald and the *alte Steffel*, the dome of St. Stephen, which now became a symbol of the city. Both Jew and Christian yearned with nostalgia as soon as they left Vienna one mile behind. Jewish children sang in church choirs, and joined in Corpus Christi processions. Catholicism with its mysteries, its ceremonialism, its bewitching cathedral concerts, held their emotions in thrall. It moulded the Vienna spirit, and became *Wiener Mode*, the fashion for a large section of the city's Jews. And then, the fashion changed; it became the vogue to be anti-Semitic just as previously it had been the part of good breeding to be wrapped up in Liberalism.

The charm of Viennese life had an assimilative effect even upon Jewish immigrants from the eastern provinces. However, at first they kept alive the Jewish spirit in the city, for had they not arrived the old Jewry would have disappeared without a trace. Galicia, which by the partition of Poland had been added to the Austrian State, had a vast Jewish population. Driven by indescribable poverty, the Galician Jews poured in a steady stream into Vienna, the city of benefactors and beneficent institutions, the home of the Rothschilds, the Königs-warters, and the Gutmanns—the city where famous physicians could be found, and where there were numerous economic opportunities. After 1867, the number of immigrants increased tremendously. Yet, how many of these new-arrivals into the Capital, at first seemingly stranded in a strange world, soon threw off their Judaism along with their Jewish clothes! It is not without reason that “wicked Vienna” plays a rather unenviable rôle in the folk-songs of Jewish Galicia. The Ladino proverb says, “In the village, half a Christian”; similarly in the City of Vienna many a Jew became a full-fledged *Goy*.

There was one organization, the “Religious Community,” which, in this mad carnival of unleashed Jewry, should have considered it its duty to defend the interest of Judaism. Those who knew Jewish history and its constant oscillation between periods of sunshine and periods of storm should have been immune from this frenzy of freedom and should have anticipated the inevitable reaction.

“Religious Community” was the name assumed by the organization of Viennese Jews when, in 1849, the Emperor openly recognized its existence. By 1853, it had adopted a constitution—but only provisionally—which remained in force till 1890. It was only then that the Community bethought itself to ask for rights indispensable for the existence of the Jewish religion on a basis of equality, if not with the established religion of Catholicism, at least with Protestantism. During the liberal era such just demands would, in all likelihood, have been granted. To ask for it in 1890, after that era had passed and entirely new political conditions prevailed in the land, was too late—too late by more than thirty years.

Though to this day the Protestants have been greatly outnumbered by the Jews, they long received all the rights which a religious organization must have for its material prosperity and spiritual welfare and for the maintenance of its dignity before the State. The Jewish Community should have profited by their example.

A belated attempt was finally made by the Jews to obtain their rights. The very leaders of Jewry actually opposed the wish of the government to give rabbis a voice in communal affairs. They objected to a consistorial organization of the Jewish community because it would of necessity have to be based upon a balance between the religious leaders and the lay element of the community. The Israelite Religious Community in its provisional by-laws had not granted the rabbis even the right to vote, let

alone any influence in the decisions of the executive officers. When, after four decades, during which rabbis of the highest reputation had labored in behalf of the entire Vienna Jewry, the Government sought to unite various factions by means of the *Kultusgemeinde* and to give the rabbis, the chosen representatives of the religion, their place in this organization, the leaders of Jewry arose in revolt. This was despite the fact that anti-Semitism was riding high in the lower house of Parliament. Gautsch, the Minister of Public Worship, realized the situation and, to his credit, introduced in the Upper House the proposal of the Government to grant the rabbis the position which was their due, and he was applauded by the Peers. But a Jewish Peer defeated his plans by painting the Galician rabbis in the darkest colors. He spoke for the representatives of the Jewish Community, who feared that the Government might help the rabbis of the west to attain to as authoritative a position as was enjoyed by the eastern rabbis. The leaders of the Community set in motion every political influence they could muster against such a possibility. All the greater should be the gratitude to the Government for coming to the aid of the rabbis in spite of the opposition of Jews themselves.

And when, after many years, another government also failed to establish a religious association, the leaders of the Community reduced the influence of the rabbis still further.

The request for a government subsidy for the maintenance at least of Jewish charitable institutions

would certainly have been just and reasonable. Did not Jews contribute by their taxes as much as any other group to sharing the general expense? But the leaders of the Jewish Community then and often made it a matter of cavalier dignity for the Community to meet its own needs. But they were compelled to ask as a matter of charity eighty-five years later in our day what they could once have obtained as a matter of right. Their plans for a government subsidy have been in vain to this day.

If the Viennese Jewish Community has been able not only to maintain its institutions at present, but even to expand them, it is indebted for all this to the temporary assistance given by the Jews from other countries, especially from the United States, and above all to the self-sacrificing generosity of some Viennese Jews.

We could give other examples of the blunders of the Viennese Jews during their flirtation with Liberalism. But enough. "Judge no man until you have reached his place." If we grant the view of Ranke that "History is conscientiousness," then in all truth and conscience one must bring to a close the story of the Liberal Era in the History of the Jews of Vienna with the judgment that "it was thoroughly Austrian—a series of missed opportunities."

CHAPTER II

ANTI-SEMITISM

THE happy era of liberalism was of short duration; it lasted for barely two decades. The opponents of the German-Liberal Party contemptuously called it "The Jewish-Liberal Party," though the name was hardly deserved. Obviously the vulnerable point of the Liberal party was its Jewish composition. Watchfully waiting, Clericalism, the deadly enemy of Liberalism, bided its time. When several literary men of Jewish birth vociferously and tactlessly bore against the Concordat—the Church's monopoly of culture—thus attracting attention to their nationality, they gave the clerical party a much sought opportunity to strike liberalism by directing their blows at the Jews.

Anti-Semitism had not yet come into vogue and was therefore not popular. Even an unstable person like Moritz Saphir, who despite his baptism could not conceal his Jewish characteristics, and who became a deserter, as it were, by merely changing his uniform, was welcomed by literary and Court circles. The citizens of Vienna are essentially amiable. Even when feeling against the Jews was at its height, they manifested sympathy even toward those East-European Jews who on account of their traditional garb were the objects of vulgar jests. Vienna, at times, had accepted the rich Jew for

himself and not out of worship of the Golden Calf. Even many a leader of anti-Semitic clericalism freely helped the poor Jew more than some of his own brethren did. When the Viennese designated every peddler *Jud*, they did so without any animosity. Equally without evil intent, they burnt before every Easter an effigy of Judas, called *Körbeljud*. It was left for the twentieth century to show its lack of good taste, for in the parade of the nationalities of Austria, in honor of the sixtieth anniversary of the Emperor's reign, the Jews of Austria were represented by a caricature of a poor Galician Jew typifying a *Schnorrer*, much to the disgust of the Monarch himself. Still, the Jews had no right to complain about this insult, for they were the loudest to applaud those Jewish comedians in the cabarets who caricatured their own people and subjected them to contempt.

The clergy itself was not at that time inclined to anti-Semitism, and what little they showed was not of a political nature. The first real move of the clergy toward anti-Semitism was noticeable in the beginning of the sixties. It was the time when the Liberal Party fought against the Concordat on the ground that it delivered the State into the hands of the Pope. As had happened so often elsewhere, so now the hatred of the aroused clergy vented itself against the Jews. It was the Jew's usual rôle of scapegoat in world history. As a scapegoat he was not unwelcome to the ruling powers. In Austria especially there was nothing extraordinary in putting a false face upon political plans and activities. It

was the same type of political indifference that at one time was carried to the ridiculous extreme of appointing a Minister of War because the cabinet order which had been sent to his cousin of the same name was delivered to the wrong address. In similar fashion the revenge for the anti-clerical position of the Liberals was turned upon the Jews.

The clergy was divided into two groups. One consisted of the bishops, who supported the Church-policy of the government, which used every connivance in order to protect its own powers and interests against clerical fanatics. In opposition to the bishops stood the ultramontane element among the lower clergy. They joined the anti-Semitic forces and became "the inciting priests." The bishops took a unanimous stand against anti-Semitism, and in a public pronouncement forbade "the inciting priests" to take any part in the agitation. They stood by their position despite their being disavowed by the anti-Jewish Curia of the time, and despite the insults to which they were subjected by the anti-Semitic rabble.

What caused this change of sentiment in favor of anti-Semitism—a change which produced so deep a cleavage not only between Christians and Jews, but also within the Church itself, between Rome and Vienna? Was it the Vienna panic of 1873? This could in no way be laid at the door of the Jews. They were to blame for it as little as they could be blamed for the financial panic of Germany which Lasker brought about by his famous speech before the Reichstag against the dishonest land-speculation

of princes and counts. The hatred and the vindictiveness which this fearless Jew aroused against himself among the upper nobility, turned into blind and indiscriminate Jew-hatred.

The Viennese middle classes became infected with anti-Semitism. The activity and agility of the Jewish competitor stirred the Christian small-merchant and store-keeper out of his leisurely life in the Café which had become one of his necessities. In the café the daily card-party had become a sacred ritual; there politics were discussed and now and then some business transacted. To many the café became a second home. The club-spirit prevailed; at every hour of the day one could find there some acquaintances with whom one could have a pleasant chat. If a customer appeared in a place of business or a shop, the apprentice always knew where he could find his master.

This pleasant life was interfered with by business rivalry. It was bad enough to meet competition from fellow-Christians, but Jewish competition was something intolerable. To cap the climax there was the displacing of manual labor by machinery, in which Jews played a part; hence, it was easy to blame the Jews when people were thrown out of work. And when, in 1873, the panic which ruined Jews and Christians numbered an archduchess among its victims, the nobility made the Jews the scapegoat to distract the attention of the public from their own unconscionable gambling on the Exchange and the consequent economic disaster. The mud which Lasker had thrown was spattered over his corelig-

ionists not only in Germany, but across the border in Austria as well.

Nevertheless for a decade the Jews of Austria could still look down with disgust upon the antics of the anti-Semites in "barbarous Prussia." Like the blind Austrian Liberals, destined to rue bitterly their failure to appreciate the importance of the labor movement, so the Vienna Jews were suddenly awakened out of their false sense of security. Suddenly, in 1882, at a large gathering, representatives of the industrial class demanded protection of industry, in other words, the elimination of Jewish competition. Openly and unabashed they voiced their grievances against the Jews. Liberal leaders were present, but they remained silent.

The year 1882, the hundredth anniversary of Joseph's Patent of Toleration, proved to be a milestone in the history of the Jews of Vienna. That year marked the end of all hopes of reconciling the various nationalities in Austria. The idea of doing so was born of a Jew, Fischhof, and it was frustrated by another Jew, Friedjung. Had Fischhof's idea been realized, probably the feeling of nationality among the Jews would have been taken into consideration and Jewish nationalism brought to realization upon Austrian soil. It is by no means impossible that the truly Jewish consciousness of Fischhof and his experiences with the pro-Germanism of Austrian Jewry, envisaged such a development of his plan—the establishment of Jewish autonomy.

In this very year, 1882, a Jewish spirit in new garb entered the city, gave battle to the German-

Liberalism of its Jews, and offered to replace its dual outlook with a firmly-rooted, thoroughly self-conscious, whole-souled Jewish loyalty. A renascent Jewish patriotism came into being. Seeing other nations glory in their national pride, the Jews began to be conscious of their own. Perez Smolenskin was instrumental in the organization of *Kadimah*, the first national-Jewish students' association. Jewry which had hitherto alternated between the noise of the market-place and quiet religious self-contemplation, and never entered the arena of political conflict, suddenly and valiantly girded on its armor against anti-Semitism.

Count Taaffe was the leader of Austrian politics at the time. For two decades, a long life for an Austrian minister, he tried to settle Austria's problem of the interrelationship among the nationalities, by favoring the Slavic majority at the cost of the German minority. That was cause enough for the Jews, true to the Nibelungen, to carry on a war to the finish against the anti-German policy. A continuous volley was directed from the side of the German-Liberal, or as its opponents called it, the Jewish-Liberal Party. The embattled hosts fought bitterly in Parliament. Frequently there were actual fights, and the discussion was carried on with the aid of desk-covers and ink-wells. The noble House became, as Masaryk said, a second-hand clothes market. And before long the essence of parliamentarism became the vilification of the Jews. No debate was so far from the subject but that it could be given an anti-Semitic turn. Deeply shocked, the

Emperor once said, "It is a shame before the entire world the way things are conducted among us." Lueger, with his usual *bonhomie*, remarked, "What would our public life be without the Jewish row?" It was a *Hetz* (the Viennese abbreviation for *Tierhetze*, a public spectacle where beasts were let loose to tear each other for the amusement of the public). Fischhof, the physician, compared these scenes to a lunatic asylum where everyone laughs at the antics of the others, quite unconscious of his own. At one parliamentary session, a motion was made to take up a Jewish question in the agenda before some of the other more general questions. The witty president of the *Reichsrat* opposed the motion with the remark, "Business before pleasure."

Taaffe, who characterized this peculiar fashion of carrying on government as "tomfoolery," was personally anything but anti-Jewish. He even included, or rather smuggled, into the budget a subsidy for the Rabbinical Seminary. He included it where one would scarcely look for it, in the naval budget. Again and again he offered the Jews coöperation to nip anti-Semitism in the bud. All he asked them to do was to cease their diatribes against the Government and abandon menial service to the Germans, from whom they had, indeed, received nothing but rebuffs in return for their faithful devotion. But the Jews refused to have their "German heart" torn from their bosom. Among the three authors of the "Program of Linz" for the National German Party, which soon thereafter sent the Jews packing, two were Jews: Friedjung, at the time publisher of a

German nationalist periodical, and Victor Adler, later the founder of the Social Democratic Party of Austria. Both were men of whom even their opponents spoke with respect. With misguided idealism, the Jews even helped the anti-Semitic *Deutscher Schulverein* in its work. The Jews actually placed their nationalist German feelings above their own racial and religious interests. The Jewish communal leaders rejected every proposal that they address themselves to Taafe, as "treason to the German cause"; "*Zum Taafe gehen wir nicht*," they said.

Indeed on one occasion this all too morbid Teutonism of the Jews led to serious misfortune — the conviction of a Jew, Hilsner, for ritual murder in Bohemia in 1899, because a prominent Liberal-German Jew refused to engage a well-known Czech minister and lawyer for the defence, on the ground that it would be disloyal to the German party to have dealings with a Czech minister.

There was still another unfortunate result from the undying devotion of the Jews to the German Liberals — the alienation of the Government. The Jews had thought it their duty to be loyal at all costs to the German Liberals, whose intransigence was driving the Government into the arms of the Clerical Party. The Government tried everything in its power to weaken the Liberal Party, but the Jews remained steadfastly loyal to a party which had already, in secret, entered into an agreement with the anti-Semitic German Nationals. The last-named were in turn bound up with the Clericals, and thus was the circle against the Jews complete.

CHAPTER III

THE ROHLING AFFAIR

THE invitation to August Rohling, Professor of Theology at one of the German universities, to occupy a chair in an Austrian university was the beginning of a great period of trial for the Jews. He was the author of the notorious volume *Talmudjude* (The Talmud Jew), which he had compiled with the help of some apostate Jews. It was a rehash of old material against the Jews, and had been distributed among hundreds of thousands. It is still actually used in certain circles as an authoritative work on the Jews. According to the statements of reliable authorities, it has accomplished more for the propagation of anti-Semitism than all other Jew-baiters in Germany put together. This Haman, Rohling, was now appointed professor at the University of Prague. Fortified by the dignity of his new position, he offered himself to the law courts as an expert to corroborate the truth of the accusations of ritual murder, and to substantiate other charges against the Jews.

When Rohling stepped forward to repeat his attack upon the Talmud, he faced no danger of arrest for libel upon the Jewish people. On the basis of rabbinical opinion, it had been established as a matter of law that the Talmud possessed no canonical significance for Judaism. Consequently, it was clear that to insult the Talmud was not an insult

to the Jewish religion, but merely literary criticism to be argued out among scholars.

Yet as an imperially recognized expert on the Talmud, such as Rohling announced himself to be, his accusations were bound to inspire general credence, while the Jews of Vienna, whose rabbis had at one time refused to accept responsibility for the Talmud, were unable to do anything to stop the attack. Clearly Rohling was impregnable from this angle.

His attack, however, was the continuation of the struggle which Christian circles had carried on against the Talmud for centuries—an inheritance of the Middle Ages which had sought to make the Talmud harmless by burning it. But in the nineteenth century this method was somewhat out of date. The Talmud question was now a good deal more complicated than it had been on previous occasions.

No Christian defender was to be found against Rohling in Vienna, none who had the necessary knowledge, courage, and good-will. But not even among the Jews of Vienna was there anyone well enough equipped for the struggle. For two hundred years no serious attempt had been made to examine critically and to invalidate scientifically the articles of Eisenmenger, the father of the so-called scientific anti-Semitism. Only in the last decades have Jewish communities in German university-towns obtained permission for Jewish scholars to lecture upon the Talmud. In this way did the Talmud avenge its neglect when Rohling attacked it.

Rohling's unbridled agitation, encouraged as it was from every side, had charged the atmosphere against the Jews in such a way that something had to be done immediately if tragic consequences were to be prevented. In spite of the fact that Rohling would not hesitate to swear falsely, it was a foregone conclusion that his oath would be believed by Catholics, since he was a Catholic professor of theology, in preference to the oath of a non-Catholic layman. The matter was vitally important, for here there was no question of establishing certain philological texts, nor was it a matter of criticism of a single book or a learned quarrel about literature. The honor and the very existence of an entire people were at stake. Its entire history was branded as a fraud; that which it considered its holiest and placed far above personal safety, the Torah, was called a lie; an important element in world culture, the ethics of Judaism, was not only questioned but openly declared worthless!

And the counter-attack had to follow at once. Vienna was now the center of attraction; it was the arena, not like that of Rome, where individual Jews were bled to death, but where all of Judaism was called out to battle for its life. Rohling's challenge to the Talmud had resounded like a declaration of war against Judaism through the streets of Vienna. Immediately all the newspapers of the world heard the echo of this great event. If he should triumph then all the pyres upon which Jews had been burned, all the edicts by which Jews had been exiled, all the

persecutions which had ever claimed Jewish martyrs, would now be justified.

In the suspense of this critical moment help came, as in the story of Esther, "from another side," that is, from a source which no one had expected. Suddenly, there appeared upon the scene, to take up the fight against Rohling, a man who had hitherto been comparatively unknown. He was no knight in shining armor, but a modest and unpretentious provincial Rabbi—Dr. Joseph Samuel Bloch.

The occasion for his intervention was a statement of Rohling that the Talmud teaches Jews to hate the Christians. The Vienna rabbis contented themselves with a categorical denial, to which Rohling replied that the declaration of the rabbis was "arrant knavery." Stung to the quick, Bloch prepared in twenty-four hours a detailed refutation of Rohling's accusations and declared that Rohling, who had set himself up as a judge of the Talmud, was not able to read a single page of it correctly.

The question now was where was this article to be published. Obviously, an important daily newspaper was the best place, but one that could not be accused of being Jewish.

The editor who dared to publish Dr. Bloch's article in his newspaper and to take a leap into the unknown was a man whose significance in Jewish history has not yet been properly recognized — Theodor Hertzka, later called Freiland Hertzka, because of a book called *Freiland* (1890) which had attracted attention and which outlined a project

for the establishment and development in Africa of a State founded upon a social basis.

Dr. Bloch's article appeared as a supplement. Three editions of 100,000 copies were sold out in a single day. Translated into many languages, the article became news the world over.

Dr. Bloch's success was extraordinary; his name was on every one's lips—as a result everyone now became seriously interested in the Talmud. Christians still believed it to be the authoritative source which taught Jews to slaughter Christian children, to defraud Christians, to commit perjury, and so on. The less prejudiced thought of it as something similar to the Cabala, at all events a mysterious book. No wonder, for “intelligent” Jews themselves were ashamed of it, and would have as little of it as possible. Yet, this was the Talmud that suddenly attained popularity. One heard nothing else discussed in the cafés, on the street, and in the salon, just as in later years one spoke of Hammurabi or Tut-ankh-amen or Röntgen or Einstein.

Dr. Bloch was very soon to discover that in Rohling he had to fight a hydra-headed evil. For a moment he thought that he had rendered him harmless by means of his famous article, but then he saw that Rohling acted as though nothing had happened, as though the strokes had not been meant for him. In fact, Rohling even offered his services in the Tisza-Eszlar lawsuit, being willing to certify under oath that ritual murder was a fact. Even a member of the Prussian parliament, a famous orator, had accepted Rohling's statements as true. Quite

obviously, he was an opponent who could not be put down merely by a newspaper article. What then was to be done?

At this point, Dr. Bloch lighted upon a new idea. He determined to have the Talmud rehabilitated by a Viennese jury, because twenty years previously it had been condemned before a Viennese tribunal. But since there was no ground for a legal suit against Rohling, he decided to produce Rohling in court in another way. He would compel him to bring suit for libel. So he wrote an article in a Vienna journal charging Rohling with perjury. In view of his public office, Rohling was compelled to bring suit for defamation of character. But here a new difficulty developed. Dr. Bloch had to present evidence of the truth of his statement. This could be accomplished only by the testimony of experts. Where could they be found? He had to be represented by a lawyer with an unusual personality to win the confidence of the jurors. But where could he get an attorney who could handle such a difficult case and who would, besides, jeopardize his professional standing by defending so unpopular a cause? For obviously, this lawyer would have to be a Christian, since it was inconceivable that a Jewish lawyer could triumph before a jury over a Christian theologian.

Dr. Bloch now showed himself a clever strategist. His first step was to demand that the experts be appointed not by the two opposing sides but directly by the court. Just because Rohling had always spoken highly of the *Deutsche Morgenländische*

Gesellschaft, Bloch recommended to the District Court of Vienna that it ask this organization to send experts on the Talmud. If Rohling objected, he could be confronted with his own words endorsing it. In this way, after much trouble, two authorities were found, Nöldeke, the most famous Semitic scholar of the day from Strassburg, and Wünsche, the well-known translator of the Midrash and the Talmud, from Dresden. They were merely to offer their opinion about certain passages of the Talmud and later rabbinic literature, which the court would place before them. The questions to be asked were to be transmitted through Dr. Bloch's attorney to the court in Dr. Bloch's name. He had the good luck to obtain Dr. Kopp as his defender and attorney, a man of ideal character. He combined in himself the eminence of a universally respected member of parliament, and the abilities gained from long experience as a lawyer. It had been possible for Dr. Bloch to obtain the services of so valuable a legal authority only by reason of the fact that one of the richest Jews of Vienna had undertaken to cover the expense of the trial. It was Wilhelm von Guttmann, who earned a name for himself as the patron of charitable institutions as well as Jewish scholarly undertakings. He had risen from a poor Hebrew tutor to the biggest coal magnate of Austria.

Naturally, Dr. Kopp did not know a single letter of Hebrew and certainly no Talmud. Dr. Bloch, therefore, spent hours daily in initiating him into a literature thousands of years old. The first thing that Dr. Bloch had to do was to convince Dr. Kopp

that he himself had confidence in his cause. The rabbi and the lawyer thereupon set to work together to prepare the incriminating testimony against Rohling for the court, so that it should be unquestionable and armor-proof. The judge, too, had to be shown that such was the case.

After a year's fatiguing labors, the time of trial approached. To the astonishment of all, shortly before the action Rohling withdrew his charge! He did not even dare to appear before the court. It had become incontrovertibly clear that he could not even give information about the references involved which his apostate helpers had placed before him. Now he was completely helpless. A Professor of Theology thus practically admitting the guilt of perjury, necessarily had to be dropped by his supporters. A caricature represented him in his Jesuit garb running head over heels away from Rabbi Bloch, who was administering to him some sharp rebukes.

The joy on the Jewish side was fully justified. For it was Judaism as a whole which had been sitting in the dock in this lawsuit about the Talmud, and now, thanks to Dr. Bloch, the accuser became the one convicted.

CHAPTER IV

JOSEPH SAMUEL BLOCH

DR. BLOCH, who played such an important rôle in the case against Rohling, was once a Galician *Yeshiba-Bahur*, and had been known in his childhood as an *'Illuy*, a prodigy. He had in his youth also acquired a European education in which he made rapid strides. He had succeeded in entering into the spirit of modern culture with no greater difficulty than when a child in his home-town, Dukla, he had become immersed in a new tractate of the Talmud. He could engage in a discussion in German with amazing facility and wielded a sharp and effective pen. His humor was irresistible, his wit struck fire, his satire was destructive. His features were not Semitic; there was nothing about them that lent itself to easy caricature. He reminded one rather of the Balkan variety of Spanish Jew. Indeed an old family tradition traced his origin to Balkan Jews. Psychologically he represented a fusion of East and West. Poland and Prussia, in both of which countries he had studied for many years, had left their impress upon him. Fundamentally, he was a self-conscious and self-respecting Jew. He was the first prominent type of the outspoken Jew in Vienna. Those qualities which he had—the product of environment and heredity—he accepted, unlike the average East-European

Jew, consciously and deliberately. Indeed, he accentuated whatever heritage he had that was distinctly Jewish in origin. His Jewish nationalism was not an artificial product, no anemic child of sentimental sympathy or romantic revery. It was not a matter of politics or calculation or pose. His nationalism was sincere and spontaneous, not made to order nor adopted for convenience. It was full grown and real and based upon the ethical ideal of his people.

Dr. Bloch had read and studied Jewish literature so exhaustively that it became second nature to him. He had it at his fingers' ends ready for use. "Doctor Bloch," as the Jews called him, or "Rabbi Bloch," as his enemies called him, became the obvious representative of the Jewish race. He developed into their victorious defender only after he had with diligence forged a weapon for himself out of the precious metal of the spiritual heritage of his fathers, upon the anvil of western culture. Such a weapon his opponents soon learned to fear at all times. With it he sought to win for the Jews, despite the opposition of some Jewish leaders, a place in the sun alongside other nationalities. Such was Doctor Bloch's Jewish nationalism. As though appointed by Providence, he stepped forth to the struggle on behalf not only of the Jews of Vienna but of Jewry in general; a David came to fight against the Goliath of united anti-Semitism.

Not long after Dr. Bloch had entered the arena against Rohling, he founded a weekly paper of his own. A Christian friend helped to supply the necessary funds. Originally called *Oesterreichische*

Wochenschrift, in contrast to the *Deutsche Wochenschrift* edited by Friedjung, it came to be known later as *Dr. Bloch's Wochenschrift*. Dr. Bloch desired to indicate that he edited an Austrian and not a German paper. He did not think that the Jews should permit themselves to be used to pull the German cart, or to be taken in tow by any other national group. Their duty was to build a purely Austrian party in the midst of the German, Slavic, Italian, and Rumanian groups. While in other countries the spirit of nationalism gave rise to a State founded on race, the race idea in Austria served to pull the State apart, since each national group sought to become a State for itself or to join some foreign country. The Austrian German regarded himself as a German, the Austrian Pole as a Pole, and so on. Only the Galician Jews regarded themselves as Austrians. The Jews of Western Austria considered themselves Germans.

According to Bloch, Judaism was not a diluted humanitarian ethics of pious souls, but rather a national and persisting force, demanding its due from the world. His insistence on the living value of the national literature of the past made him the *enfant terrible* of the Vienna *Kehillah*. They thought that he emphasized its racial affiliation too strongly. He believed, however, that harmony among the Jews in Vienna, where so many spiritual and cultural influences impinged upon each other, could be achieved only by setting a fixed goal based on the consciousness of their common ancestry and a common fate. Religious as well as non-religious Jews

could be brought together. A united religious and cultural organization might well overlook differences in questions of religion. Indeed, even if these differences touched upon fundamental questions, such as the binding nature of the ritual law, they could be bridged as long as the emphasis was laid upon a united front, as long as the discordant elements were subordinated to the task of defending with common power the heritage of the fathers against external attack.

The more perspicacious people, like Kuranda, understood and appreciated the significance of Dr Bloch. But the intense Jewish self-consciousness which he stressed aroused resentment and opposition. The German-loving liberal Jews were particularly antagonistic. They could take their Judaism only in small doses. Indeed, they were fearful that the carrying out of his views would lead to a loss of their civil status. The Jewish upper classes and the intellectuals regarded Judaism as something to be practiced during religious service either on holidays or at family functions. The Jewish local politicians failed to see where the enemy was. They did not realize the opportunity they had, as an independent though small group, to exert an influence upon the solution of political questions and thereby become a factor of some importance.

The communal leaders even opposed an open issue with anti-Semitism on the ground that it would aggravate the opposition. In fact, in the City Council of Vienna, the Jews had taken a pledge to

each other to ignore the worst ravings of the anti-Semites. The Jew was to appear before the public as a man and not as a Jew.

Until then, the Jew of Vienna bore the brunt of battle in the issues between German and Czech, Centralist and Federalist, clerical and liberal, feudal-ist and socialist. He was pleased to wear every lackey uniform except his own. The *Kehillocrats* and the financial magnates who formed one clique with them disliked Dr. Bloch. They preferred to support Rohling's informers and others of Bloch's opponents. Taaffe, on the other hand, wanted to appoint him to a Professorship of Jewish Antiquities at the University of Vienna. Dr. Bloch himself wanted to dignify the Talmud through a professorial chair, so that the study of it might be academically recognized. Indeed, there was no one in Vienna more fit for the position than he. But when the Government sounded the Religious Community on their attitude to the appointment, they answered that it would be considered "as a provocative act against the Jews of Vienna."

To those who pulled the strings of communal politics he was like a red rag. The number of his enemies was subsequently further increased by his controversy with Herzl, and this hatred has continued to this day. His enemies have remained true to him even beyond the grave. Tietze, the most recent historian of the Jews of Vienna, who views these events from a distance with the historian's objectivity and who was not an eye-witness of the occurrences as was the author of this book, has

been the first one to do justice to Dr. Bloch. This in itself is proof that Dr. Bloch's own presentation of the facts in the three volumes of his memoirs, two of which have already appeared in Hebrew translation, is not a series of tirades. His activities were not a mere episode. In his Jewish nationalism he strove to emphasize the elements of religion and tradition, a conception which may yet some day form the basis of a synthesis between Hebrew nationalism and orthodox non-Zionism.

The reader of Dr. Bloch's memoirs may be surprised that he did not drop his pen as did Hume when, in undertaking to write a history of the kings of England, he was repelled by the revolting details. Throughout Dr. Bloch's life he had had to carry on an arduous struggle with an anti-Semitic crew of a type which outsiders can hardly understand. But he had the joy of fighting a just cause. When, therefore, in the evening of his life he looked back upon what he had achieved, he could comfort himself with the feeling that he had been amply compensated for his pains. That is why he still retained that unconscious humor which enabled him to describe in his book even the morasses through which he had been forced to pass. Like the unfortunate Stuart King, Charles II, he admired those who had been openly his enemies more than his hypocritical friends. His enemies had honored him by a bitter and stubborn fight, and by that very fact showed that they understood his significance; his friends betrayed and bartered him when they no longer had reason to fear him.

Still, it is possible to judge the situation of that day with greater leniency if one views it not with the sternness of blustering patriotism like that of Bahr and Kürnberger, but rather from the point of view of a pathologist and psychoanalyst like Freud, whose psychology has about it an unmistakable atmosphere of Vienna, or through the spectacles of that other Viennese—the only literary man who has represented Vienna in foreign countries—Arthur Schnitzler.

Bloch, in his *Wochenschrift*, for over a period of thirty-seven years, taught the Jews to bear their Judaism with honor and dignity. "*Bloch*," as his periodical was familiarly called, was the impatiently awaited and most welcome Sabbath guest in the most distant Jewish huts of the Monarchy. It directed thought on every Jewish question among the Jewish citizens of the country. Its pages pulsed with straightforward, warm-hearted, true and militant Judaism. For the history of Viennese Jewry, its thirty-seven volumes remain an indispensable source for the period between the community's greatest flowering to the time of its post-War misfortune. This organ of Jewish public thought was a world forum for the discussion of Jewish questions. It was not the ordinary family-sheet, but rather a platform for the teaching and discussion of Judaism.

In 1884, a year after he founded his paper, he was called upon to fill a vacant seat in the Reichsrat, representing Kolomea, Galicia. His fame had been spread by a Jewish resident of that town who had, on one occasion, been present at a lecture delivered

by Dr. Bloch in Vienna and had enthusiastically described to his fellow townsmen the oratorical abilities of the little rabbi. When the newspapers also began to write at length about this little rabbi who had overnight achieved a reputation in his attack upon Rohling, an election committee organized in Kolomea offered him the vacant seat in the Reichsrat. Dr. Bloch accepted and was elected. In order to obtain the necessary freedom for his parliamentary activity, however, he had to give up his communal post.

About the same time Dr. Bloch founded the *Union*, a political club whose aim was the promotion of Jewish culture. Through its agency public lectures were given in Vienna on subjects dealing with Jewish scholarship. Until then, if an Austrian scholar wanted to deliver an address on some topic of Jewish interest, he had to go to Prague. In filling this long-felt communal need the *Union* performed a great service. The *Union*, moreover, performed a further service by organizing under the guidance of Dr. Bloch protest meetings against the advances made by anti-Semitism, as well as by establishing legal bureaus which defended Jews whose political rights had been infringed.

Dr. Bloch participated in another ritual murder case, and incidentally displayed his abilities in another direction as a Sherlock Holmes. In 1893, an apostate Jew played a hoax upon a Viennese clergyman who was eager to find a pretence for anti-Semitic agitation, by telling him that he himself had seen a Jew commit a ritual murder in Russia.

He described the supposed event in all its gruesome details. The clergyman sent in the story to a Viennese anti-Semitic journal which published it. The Jews could take no legal steps to dispel such libelous rumors. Dr. Bloch discovered that relatives of the Jew who was alleged to have committed the ritual murder were still alive in Russia. He communicated with them and had them bring a charge, as they were entitled to do, in a Viennese court of law, against the clergyman who had spread the rumor. Incidentally, Dr. Bloch discovered that the tale-bearing apostate was a notorious criminal. At the trial, the apostate, the clergyman and the editor of the journal were convicted. But that did not prevent the naming of a square in his former diocese in honor of the clergyman. All in all, however, it was fortunate that Dr. Bloch was able to make use of his personal friends in Russia to trap the malefactors.

No less than three apostate Jews crossed Dr. Bloch's path. Their swindles brought harm to numerous Jews privately, and their assistance to anti-Semitic agitators threatened the direst danger to Jewry in general. He frustrated their evil designs and had them punished according to their deserts. Shameful to record, highly respected Jews were misled by them (at least, so one must assume) and joined them in order to attack Dr. Bloch.

Dr. Bloch's addresses in Parliament (1883-1895), particularly those in which he defended the Gautsch plan for the regulation of the *Kultusgemeinde*, are not merely of local and temporary interest, they

have permanently enriched Judaism. They read like bulletins from a battle field.

Dr. Bloch's appearance in Vienna was not a mere sensation the effects of which are easily dissipated, nor like fireworks which momentarily light up the night and then leave it in greater darkness. Since his day the propaganda of the anti-Semites in Vienna has been careful not to revive the ritual murder lie, and where it does appear, the State's attorney immediately takes steps to suppress it. The young men of those days, who hailed Dr. Bloch as the leader of their national enthusiasm long before Herzlian Zionism was born, prepared the way for a movement which is still in the process of growing. When party strife within Judaism will be subjected to the searching light of an impartial historical review, justice will be done to the man who was the first to recall the Jews to self-consciousness, who inspired them with courage openly to acknowledge their relationship to the race of the Fathers and to consider it an honor to be a Jew.

CHAPTER V

ZIONISM

BLOCH's relations to political Zionism must not be construed as Christian history construes Judaism, as merely a stepping stone or forerunner of greater things to follow. Bloch was unquestionably the first Zionist in Vienna. But a Zionism without religion and tradition seemed to him like a knife without blade or handle.

This becomes clear when one compares him with Smolenskin. The entire story develops in a series of contrasts almost to the extent of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. Bloch and Smolenskin lived in Vienna at the same time, and one of the first issues of the *Wochenschrift* contains a favorable notice about Smolenskin. But to Bloch as well as to other Viennese Jews of education and standing the modest and retiring Smolenskin, despite his wide travels in western Europe, was simply an East European Jew who wrote in Hebrew. One read his Hebrew periodical *Ha-Shahar* without realizing the place in Jewish history that this sickly young man would make for himself. Such a place he well deserves as being the first who unblushingly and unreservedly set up the demand expressed in the biblical sentence, "We want to be like the other nations." "We Jews," he said, "were and are a nation, and if today we are not so keenly aware of this fact, we must plan how

to recapture the elements essential to nationalism: language and land." The land, to be sure, was not easy of attainment. But the language, to foster the language of his people, to spread it, to teach it, to write in Hebrew instead of in the language of the land, that was a cause to which he devoted himself with fiery enthusiasm.

It must be admitted that Smolenskin did no more than graze the surface in Vienna. But far more important than his brief personal activity was the lasting impression of his journal, for it helped to make Vienna the birthplace of political Zionism.

What debt does Zionism owe to Vienna as the second home of Theodor Herzl? One must not altogether forget that he, like Nordau, came originally from Budapest. Herzl arrived in Vienna at the age of seventeen without any notion that a revival of the Hebrew language was heralding a Jewish nationalistic movement. Herzl, like ever so many of his circle, knew Judaism through the formal religious instruction in the State schools, which was not conducive to presenting it in a favorable light. Later on he became more satisfactorily acquainted with its principles. He had to wait a quarter of a century to see his seed yield a harvest.

But he came upon the scene at the proper time. Though a Jew by birth, assimilationist influences made him heart and soul a German. Though reared under a European culture he was destined for Jewish leadership. He was not discouraged by opposition from his own coreligionists. Instead of crying out, "Behold, the children of Israel have not hearkened

unto me, how then shall Pharaoh hear me?" he adhered all the more steadfastly to the idea of leading the Jews into the promised land. He had the gift of hatred and defiance, and would not bend the knee before Baal, yet when his nerves were unstrung and his heart overflowed, he could weep like a child. Unfortunately, he lacked humor.

He imported his dandyism from London, while the café-habits of his early years of indiscretion as well as his gift of satire, he acquired in France. Such inner serenity as Herzl possessed, such single-mindedness of aim, such mastery of the spoken word, were not heritages of Vienna. They were products of Hungary; the spirit that ruled him was the result of unconscious impressions gained in childhood and in youth in that land of orators and patriots, of chauvinists, if you prefer.

What Vienna contributed was neither method nor technique; it was something more than that. It was goal, direction, meaning to life, even the theory of Zionism itself. Herzl received new influences from Viennese journalism, for his Vienna was the Vienna of the Press. For a vain young man of Jewish birth like Herzl, possessed of a wide and worldly education and intellectually gifted, there was but one road to the attainment of power in Vienna—the way leading to the editorial office of a newspaper. Such a position meant absolute power in Vienna.

It was only after a play of his was successfully performed in New York under the management of Vienna's great stage directors that he was accepted as a playwright in Vienna. When a joint play by

Herzl and Wittmann was triumphantly received at the Burgtheater, Herzl's goal was attained. The leading newspaper of Vienna took him upon its staff—an honor which opened all doors to him.

Nevertheless, he later came to look upon his newspaper connection as a hindrance. He had no complete freedom of expression. Yet his newspaper experiences stood him in good stead for his work at Zionist Congresses. As a reporter for his newspaper he was enabled to study parliamentarism with all its weaknesses and deformities in France, the classical land of Democracy. It was in Paris that the spark of Zionism first lit up his soul. It was fanned by the Dreyfus case. He would not have wondered at anti-Semitism in Vienna. But in Paris, the "Light of the World," it depressed him tremendously. When a nation with such culture as the French sank to such depths of prejudice and hatred, what hope was there for Europe? If anti-Semitism was possible in the classic land of freedom, the source of Jewish emancipation, in what other country could the Jew lead a self-respecting life? When all the documents guaranteeing political rights were so many scraps of paper, what was the sole hope of a people but a land of its own? Herzl saw that ambassadors of the most insignificant nations were treated with respect. A country that was politically independent was always officially recognized; only Jews and Gypsies were not.

With an aching heart Herzl returned to Vienna, and penned his *Judenstaat* (Jewish State). For the time being the Jewish homeland he had in mind

was a mere Utopia without any geographical location. But he called it *Freiland*, a Land of Freedom, at least where Jews might live freely. He read the manuscript of his *Judenstaat* in 1895 before a group which included Dr. Bloch. Dr. Bloch told him of the literature already extant on the subject, of the existence of which Herzl had been unaware. Only then did Herzl fix his program upon Palestine. He rewrote his work. Its publication introduced a new era in the history of the Jewish People. Herzl took a course in Judaism and in a remarkably short time learned about the inner political situation of Jewry. This knowledge gave him the power and the courage personally to undertake the work of putting his words into action. From a theoretical dreamer about a Jewish State, he became a practical Jewish leader and organizer.

Herzl and Bloch soon broke with each other, and as in all factional quarrels there was bitterness on both sides. At first Herzl presented his idea in the *Wochenschrift*, Bloch's paper. Bloch wanted to assign to him a special supplement of the journal. But Herzl resented the fact that Bloch, pursuing the policy of a general Jewish newspaper, held its columns open to the discussion of Herzl's ideas by non-Zionists as well. Thereupon he founded a separate party-organ. As he could not maintain it except at a financial loss, he proposed to Bloch that he turn his own journal into a purely Zionist publication. To this Bloch would not agree, not because he would lose some subscribers and subsidies, but rather because he realized and constantly emphasized

the fact that Zionism was not *the* solution of the Jewish question and that Palestine could not accommodate all the Jews. He saw the Jewish question as one certain to remain a Diaspora question, and, as a matter of fact, it is that now, on account of restrictions more pressing than ever.

A further point in which Bloch could not agree with Herzl was the persistence with which Herzl insisted upon his own thesis, namely, "Palestine without a charter is unthinkable." Herzl definitely turned against the colonization of Palestine, against building it up by labor on a small scale. It was to this charter-idea that Herzl sacrificed himself without, in the end, bringing it a single step forward. He actually displayed inconsistency when, upon meeting the German Emperor in Palestine, he handed to him an album of the colonies which had been built up by the humble labor which he opposed. He was a doctrinaire. He overlooked the fact that every span of earth that was turned up by spades in Jewish hands, every hovel that arose, every orange tree that blossomed forth as a result of Jewish effort meant more for Zionism than mountains of printed paper.

Herzl comforted himself because potentates courteously greeted him. How happy he was over his reception by the Sultan! I myself can testify to the wonderful impression which he left behind at the Turkish Palace. Yet, soon thereafter, the padishah confiscated a Jewish newspaper because it contained a sympathetic article on the subject.

He did not realize that the bird in the hand was worth more than the two in the bush. Zionism was not to become a matter of advertizing, an undertaking based upon long-term notes without coverage in the treasury. Flags for the uncritical and enthusiastic youth were less necessary than positive building. Herzl condemned spade-work as "pettiness of spirit." There was in him perhaps too much of the journalist, too much poetic fantasy. He believed, it would seem, that he could not put such dry statistics as those dealing with wheat and grapes under the eye of his editor-in-chief who, at best, smiled indulgently at the whole business as a sort of folly. In all likelihood, Herzl by doing so, would have had greater success with the rich Jews, who were accustomed to test everything by means of the balance-sheet which they held in their hand. Incidentally the average rich Jew preferred to be the Jew of kings than King of the Jews.

Moreover, the movement started by Herzl took, to put it mildly, a neutral attitude, if it did not offer a cold shoulder, to positive religious Judaism. Highly influential circles among the orthodox therefore opposed Zionism. However, East European Jewish nationalism helped mitigate the evil. It was because of the Zionism deriving from the East European *Haskalah* that the Zionist movement did not lose touch with ancient Jewish culture. What has been achieved in Palestine in the nature of positive cultural upbuilding owes considerably to these Eastern Jewish groups. Their practical sense never lost sight of the Diaspora problem either.

Despite mistakes, Herzl was of decisive importance for the movement in certain matters. Herzl remains an important historical figure. He was the one who transformed isolated tendencies into a Jewish renaissance, into a living folk movement. He was the first to combine into one various movements having similar tendencies, and to give it a definite aim and coherence. He encouraged the struggling Jewish masses. Moreover, in crystallizing their strivings, he himself found the power of concentration upon a great aim in a work to which he had until then been unaccustomed. It is to this aim that he owes his greatness, and through this, quite apart from his achievements, he became exemplary in his very personality.

His appearance upon the stage was of inestimable value for the West European Jews and, above all, for the Jewish youth of Vienna. After all, if Zionism was not a door, it was at least a window through which one could breathe some fresh air and not stifle in the suffocating atmosphere of Philistine banality and communal life in which nothing changes except the days and the years. A star of hope had arisen, a Jewish ideal; out of the yellow Jewish badge, Herzl fashioned a blue and white Jewish flag.

For Herzl, a member of the general staff of the Press, to take an interest in his fellow Jews, was an unusual phenomenon. It must be remembered that the Austrian Press of that day was surrounded by the same nimbus as the military general staff in Prussia. At the same time the chiefs of this Press, the so-called *Judenpresse*, were ever anxious to avoid

any suspicion of taking an interest in Judaism. Moreover, they could not very well follow him, not only because they would lose subscribers, but because they saw no guarantee of political success for his Utopia. Yet the fact that from the journalistic Olympus which the Viennese Jew peopled with deities, so important a figure descended, publicly announced himself as a Jew, and stepped forth to redeem his brothers, was an impressive occurrence. It was more than a fact; it was a sensation. It was also a boon to the Jewish youth of Vienna who, for lack of an ideal, had been in the throes of conflicting mental complexes. It is no accident that Vienna was the place where Adler hit upon the idea of fighting the inferiority complex by means of individualistic psychology. Herzl gave the Jews who were suffering from an inferiority complex a sense of personal value. He appeared like a Knight of the Swan to those steeped in Wagnerian romanticism, but he was a second Moses to the more historically minded. His effect upon the youth was what gained the day for him, for the opponents of Zionism had nothing to offer them either then or at any later time. Even those who are no hero-worshippers but attempt to write biography impartially must concede him a salutary influence.

Herzl himself can hardly be blamed for the lack of union between Zionism and religion. His motto was, "First a return to Judaism, then a return to the Land of the Jews." To be sure, in view of the actual misery among the Jews, he had to consider first of all every possibility that offered itself to

save human life and to restore Jews their freedom. Completely taken up as he was by this important task, he should have been supported in it by those who sought to transplant Judaism to Palestine along with the Jews.

Herzl sank into an untimely grave. He would never have dreamed that Vienna, where he had found worthy and loyal coworkers, but even more numerous opponents, would be selected as a meeting place for the Zionist Congresses in 1913 and in 1925. Between these two dates the movement founded by him had made such progress as to win for itself the majority of the community's directorate, thus attaining for the Jewish community the goal which he had set for it. The World War and its consequences have materially contributed to this result.

CHAPTER VI

THE WORLD WAR AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

AFTER the introduction of universal suffrage (1907), the Jews who thickly populated the eastern portion of the Monarchy succeeded in sending four Jewish-Nationalist deputies to the *Reichsrat*. These deputies organized a Jewish-National Club, the first of its kind in Jewish history. The Jews of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to whom religion was above nationalism, had long before been allowed by the Government to have two representatives in the *Landtag*, one of them a rabbi. The Jews of Western Austria, who before the law were also placed in the category of members of "the Israelite Confession," could have obtained representation in Parliament in the same way.

Only one Jewish member remained in the National Club after the new elections in 1911. Likewise only one Zionist was elected to Parliament after the dissolution of the Monarchy. Yet in a sense the latter fact is proof of the power which Zionism had won for itself as a result of the World War.

In many countries this monstrous war is still labeled as having been "made in Vienna." In Vienna itself the anti-Semitic Press, especially the clerical press, have ascribed its beginning to the Jews. The truth of the matter is that the clericals tried every

means to stir up sentiment against Greek-Catholic Serbia. They have accused the Jews of not having done their patriotic duty to the same extent as the rest of the population. The clerical press openly took orders from sources across the border. The anti-Semitism which began to spread in the army immediately upon the outbreak of the War was also traceable to sources across the Austrian borders, this time in the North. As regards the clerical press I can cite an illustration from my own experience. A Christian scholar and myself issued through a Catholic publishing-house a Book of Consolations for the prisoners of war, in which we included passages from the Bible, some Church literature, and also some post-biblical Jewish literature. The leading clerical newspaper hailed the publication most sympathetically; in its very next issue, however, presumably upon orders from higher up, it urged that the book be suppressed.

Facts speak in refutation of the suspicion of unpatriotic activity on the part of the Jews. Of their patriotism within Austria it is unnecessary to speak; one need but point to the extent to which the Jews of Vienna—Community, societies and individuals—contributed. This fact has been recognized by the Christian population in so far as it is free from the influence of the anti-Jewish Press. On the whole, Christian Vienna has proved how humane and kindly it can be and act when it is not provoked or brutalized by artful propaganda. Moreover, the unrestricted power of the anti-Semites in Vienna had been broken. A wide field

for work lay before the Social Democrats who had at least not adopted an anti-Jewish plank in their platform, and among whose leaders Jews were to be found.

The author of this book was very active during the entire four years of the War and may well consider himself a competent witness. His duty was to administer the oath to the departing Jewish soldiers; for a long time, he was the only one to perform marriages among the Jews in the army. He organized many philanthropic activities and continued to administer them until his resignation from the rabbinic office. He is thus enabled to vouch for the fact that the Jewish youth were enthusiastic in their fight against Czarism. Because of this the number of Jewish enlistments was very high. Not a single commanding officer had any fault to find with the behavior of Jewish soldiers before the enemy. On the contrary, every one spoke of them in high praise. Many of them received marks of commendation, and Jews out of all proportion to their number gave their lives for their country. Carefully registered official reports in the *Oesterreichische Wochenschrift* about the losses in the field among the Jews of Vienna cannot unfortunately be completed by the official statistics. Such statistics were not published during the period of the war. Moreover the records of the soldiers in the *Landsturm* completely omit any mention of religion. And after the disruption of the monarchy, it was quite impossible to reconstruct the Jewish statistics. Later on, under the guidance of a former staff officer, such

statistics could be obtained only of the Jewish officers who died on the battlefield or as a result of wounds and exhaustion. And even here we do not have a full list.

In view of the fact that the Jews formed an unusually high proportion of those who enlisted for one year, from among whom officers were appointed, the number of Jewish officers and officers-in-training was very large. Similarly, the number of Jewish officers in the medical corps was far higher than those of any other religious nationality. In some military units, the Jewish casualties among the officers were in the majority. It would be on the whole too low rather than too high an estimate to say that the number of casualties among Jewish officers reached a thousand. Such a figure might suggest that the Jewish population numbered ten per cent of the whole; in reality, however, it was only four per cent. The same disproportionately high number may be set for Jewish officers who were decorated. From this it is, however, impossible to draw any conclusions as to the number of losses among the Jewish privates. For the Jews had a high percentage of officers, especially in agricultural communities, not as a result of pro-Semitism on the part of the army command, but rather because of better education and superior mentality—in some army groups the Jews were the only ones who could speak German. For the same reason many of them held positions other than service at the front. The legend of the Jews being shirkers is sufficiently refuted by the memorial tablet for the Jewish fallen

set up by various communities. On the other hand, it is a fact that anti-Semitic officers placed Jews in the most dangerous positions; such anti-Semitism in the army helped to deepen the nationalistic sentiments of the Jewish soldiers. A group of Jewish nationalistic officers was thus instrumental in post-war years in the establishment of a Jewish National Council in Vienna. There is no reason to assume that a Jewish community of almost 200,000, such as that of Vienna, contributed a smaller percentage of soldiers than the other communities.

If Jewish losses at the front were extremely high, Jewish misery in the country itself was indescribable. Had it not been for help from foreign countries, especially from the United States, a large portion of Viennese Jewry, probably half of its intellectuals, would have perished. The Jews not only lacked the elementary necessities of life such as food, clothing, underwear, but also such articles as soap, wood and coal.

Misery overwhelmed them like an avalanche. When, shortly after the opening of hostilities, Russia invaded Galicia and Bukowina, and these districts were evacuated, the Jewish population was driven away amid heart-rending scenes. They naturally turned to the western part of the monarchy and crowded into Vienna. One can readily imagine the feelings of the suffering and downcast Christian population which had known of Polish Jews for the most part only through anti-Jewish nursery tales, when they saw these poor victims of the War occupying the streets and squares of Vienna. Most

of them, in order to find some means of livelihood, had to be constantly on the move. In view of the fact that official support scarcely supplied the utmost necessities, they speculated in money and indulged in other reprehensible practices to ward off starvation. The legal announcements of the day in the newspapers were filled with names which showed clearly the origin of their bearers. On the other hand, it must be admitted that in spite of all this, the authorities on the whole conducted themselves in exemplary fashion, listened to every justifiable appeal on behalf of these fugitives, and helped them. The general population also bore its lot, generally speaking, with noble self-sacrifice, and shared its last morsel with their suffering fellow Austrians.

With the break-up of the Monarchy the Community was left in a lamentable situation. As a result, a committee for the maintenance of charitable institutions in the community was organized, under my leadership, in the winter of 1919. The Committee was granted powers by the directorate of the Community, and, as is attested in a public announcement engraved upon a tablet, the directorate recognized the services which the Committee performed. Another committee had the task, over a period of several years, of raising funds to rebuild the Great Synagogue which had been destroyed by fire in the year 1917. All this meant a continuous fight against opposition—a war within the War.

Even more lamentable in a certain sense was the position of the Jews in post-War years. Inflation with all its accompanying evils brought about some

sharp practices, and among the leading sinners in this respect were Jews. The Social-Democratic City-Government which had come into power in the meantime, in which Jews held several very important positions, as they did also in the Government which immediately followed it, treated the unsocial manifestations from the point of view of class-consciousness rather than anti-Semitism. Nevertheless it is self-evident that the Christian population resented the wrongs committed by Jews and deplored the change in the character of the Jewish population of the city due to the newcomers. Attempts were even made to limit the rights of settlement of Jews in Vienna. The Catholic authorities, be it said to their credit, sought to stem these anti-Semitic excesses.

The political foundations of the Viennese Community have been to some extent guaranteed and maintained as a result of the Minority protection included in the Peace of St. Germain. Since the Civil War of 1934, when Austria was transformed from a parliamentary country to one governed by Estates, the Jews have come under the protection granted by the League of Nations to minorities. The Christian German population is considered indigenous; the Jews are foreigners.

In the days before the War the upper middle-class among the Jews was drawn largely from the wealthy and intelligent German Jews of the Sudetes mountains. The Christian middle classes had the same origin, and hence there was nothing to prevent an understanding between the two groups. The new

powers, however, came largely from the Alpine districts, while the Jews for the most part hailed from the district of the Carpathians. Between these two groups of the population sympathy and understanding are naturally much more difficult. Neither Christian nor Jewish Vienna is any longer the Vienna of the days before the War. It is Kitzbühel on the one side and Cracow on the other. On the one hand we have the Tyrolese spirit, in accordance with its inherited Catholic attitude, which looks forward to a political life based on right instead of might. Among the Jews, the East European element is for the most part in control, which since the eighties has set itself against the disappearance of Judaism in Vienna. For a long time the leaders of the community treated the Polish element as not indigenous to the population. Now, however, all the Jews of Austria are characterized as "foreign." The misery of the small, impoverished country, whose strenuous efforts to maintain its independence are worthy of admiration, might easily, it is argued, lead to boundless hatred for the Jew. Therefore an effort is being made to afford the Christian population, the one that is considered indigenous, an extension of its economic possibilities and professional freedom. This, it is believed by some, cannot be achieved except at the expense of the Jews. If the principle of unconditional equality is infringed upon and a distinction made, either from a religious or a national point of view, or both, between a Christian German majority and a Jewish minority, it follows that the latter must give way to the former. It has been

officially pointed out that in certain occupations the Jews are represented to a disproportionate degree. But the fact has been overlooked that the reason for this is that many positions are open to Christians only. And when restrictions are made in one field, it is easy to see that the part of the population which is favored grows ravenous in its demands and calls for a *numerus clausus* in other fields as well. The result is that the Jews of Vienna have an all but unbearable burden to bear. The future of Austria is even more uncertain than the future of the world in general, and with this uncertainty the fate of the Jews of Vienna is bound up. It lies in the hands of Him who has led and directed it for a thousand years. To put our trust in Him is all that is left to us.

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CHAPTER VII

EPILOGUE

THE fate and achievements of the Jews of Vienna as portrayed in this book, beginning with the struggle of a few for means of subsistence and continuing with the entire community striving to obtain recognition of their right of existence and civic equality—all of this sheds light upon Jewish history in general.

During the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we have seen that some Jews were associated with intelligent and ambitious rulers, acting as chamberlains, financial advisers, masters of the mint, and court bankers. Whatever their position, their high place in the financial administration gave them great influence in politics as well. At the same time they possessed landed estates and enjoyed such civic liberties as were granted to any strangers called in for the purpose of aiding the economic development of the land. Whether the other Jews, who are known to have lived in Vienna at that time, were in the service of their more fortunate coreligionists or lived as independent merchants, is uncertain.

Not much is said in the sources of that day about Jewish commerce. The customs-regulations of Raffelstätten, of the year 966, which governed the commerce between Bavaria and Austria, still speak of the "Jews and other legitimate merchants," thus making the terms "Jew" and "international

merchant" interchangeable. Such identification we find also in other documents of that era. An echo of it is found in the Privilege granted to the Jews of Vienna by Emperor Frederick II, in 1238. In the Privileges of Frederick the Quarrelsome and of Ottakar II, however, the Jews are already mentioned exclusively as money-lenders—bankers, whose business is principally that of stock-jobbing. An outstanding example is the business-relationship of David Steuss with Bishop John of Brixen in the year 1364, where the Jew's business is, so to speak, that of discounting notes.

Both the Jews and the lords seemed to benefit by the mutual arrangement between them. It is scarcely likely that the Jews turned to finance because of predisposition and choice, as Sombart says. In the Vienna of that age, no room was open to them in any other occupation. The Babenbergs needed the Jews both as capitalists and as bankers. They needed them not only to increase their own power but far more so to advance the credit of the entire merchant-class. They themselves loaned money to the Viennese burghers. The Jews also acted as middlemen for the ducal house in obtaining luxuries from Italy and the Orient.

Within certain limits, then, the rulers of the country granted to the Jews such privileges as they were not able to obtain anywhere else at the time. The clever and calculating Hapsburgs recognized the advantages of such an arrangement and left the Jews in the possession of their privileges. The Jews were not half-citizens; they had absolutely no recog-

nized political or legal rights. Legally, they were under the sole power of the Duke, and, in order to enable him to afford them better protection, they were segregated in a separate *Judenstadt* (Jew City) in the immediate vicinity of the Castle. In their economic enterprises they enjoyed a thorough-going monopoly—a privilege granted them by all secular powers as well as by the Church. For, though the latter was ill-disposed toward them, it was forced by its own dogmatic stand reluctantly to permit them to continue their financial operations.

It was to some extent fortunate that they had not come into the country as merchants. They might have been expelled like the Flemings as soon as trade and industry could get along without them. But in their occupation as money-lenders the Jews were protected by canon law from competition by native Christians, and also, by orders from the Imperial Government to the Dukes of Austria, from competition by the Cahorsins or any other foreign bankers, who were not allowed to settle in Austria.

In spite of internal disorders, and of hatred for the Jew, carried across the borders from Germany, the Jews of Austria enjoyed comparatively favorable treatment under the Hapsburgs. Though the historic origins of the Austrian coat-of-arms, a white band on a red field, are connected with the Crusades, it became emblematic of a country which was the only asylum for Jews. The Jewish community became the largest in German speaking countries. In 1377, the Duke of Austria expressly invited foreign Jews to settle in Vienna.

Thanks to the Jews, Vienna, the capital of lower Austria, never became a mere provincial town; but from earliest times bore the character of an international city. Vienna was a melting pot, a cosmopolitan city, in which the greatest variety of races mingled. Inhabitants of the Alpine countries of all parts of Germany, France, the Netherlands, Italy, and merchants from the East were all engaged in trade with Vienna. This was the case even in the days of the Babenbergs. And not the least contributing factor were the Jews. Some of the Minnesingers who accepted the invitation of the art-loving Babenbergs and came to Vienna from their Frankish homes were Jews, like Süsskind von Trimberg.

Within the Jewish community of Vienna, we find representatives of the North, the West, the South, and the East, even to Croatia. On the other hand, the most important business-house of the ghetto, that founded by David Steuss, who might be called the Rothschild of his time, had dealings not only with the dukes of Austria and the City of Vienna, but also with ecclesiastical dignitaries, and with magistrates far beyond the borders of Austria.

Within the walls of Vienna, there lived also distinguished Jewish scholars who made the name of Vienna famous in Jewish literature. The surname *mi-Vin*, i. e. of Vienna, gave added glory to men like Isaac, son of Moses, Or Zaru'a, and later Rabbi Shimshon, i. e. Samson Wertheimer, and Rabbi Eliezer Horwitz. The *Hakme Vina*, the Wise Men of Vienna, of the Middle Ages, enjoyed a reputation rivaled only later by the *Gaone 'Olam*, the Great

Men of the World, who lived in Vienna in the seventeenth century.

When Austria was included in the German Empire, the degradation of Vienna's Jewry began almost immediately. From *Kammergrafen*, Counts of the Imperial Chamber, they became *Kammerknechte*, Slaves of the Imperial Chamber. In other words, from the status of privileged citizens of the State, they sank into one without any rights whatsoever. It was a novel state of affairs and frightful in its results. The Hapsburg dynasty, feeling that it no longer needed the Jews to augment its power, completely deprived them of their means of earning a livelihood. In the catastrophe of 1421, Austria fell in with the prevailing methods of destroying the Jews. The Vienna of the Middle Ages, like the German city of Rothenburg, came down in Jewish memory as "the City of Blood."

Barely two decades later, Jews were again found in the entourage of Austria's rulers. The Hapsburgs, in their struggles with the town, and the estates, in their efforts to consolidate the Austrian State, and later in the terrible religious wars, once more found welcome use for Jewish capital. Jewish merchants again made their appearance even in Vienna, under the category of *Hofbefreite*, that is, purveyors directly in the service of the Court and not under the control of the city magistrates. Foundations were now laid for a new Jewish community. But it was a community whose very existence was dependent upon the whims and passing needs of the King. This

community was in every way inferior to the communities of Prague, Frankfort or Hamburg.

Some Jews did indeed attain to positions of importance and honor; the Jewish group as a whole enjoyed at least freedom of worship. But they needed protection from a hatred which was fanned by the University of Vienna and its students, that same University in which, during the nineteenth century, the Jew Grünhut was to function as Dean of the Law Faculty, and the Jew Lieben as the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy. The Emperor placed the Jews for their own protection in a new ghetto in the Leopoldstadt.

Some Jews with an academic education and worldly knowledge, with whom Christian scholars as well as members of the highest society stood in close personal touch, now made their appearance. In general, however, the Jews externally presented the usual type of that day, degraded to the lowest social and economic status. Nevertheless, they were of vast assistance to the finances of a State almost ruined by the Thirty-Years' War. They revived the trade with Italy and the East. The danger attendant upon such trade is sufficiently attested by the fact that many of them were murdered. Menahem Mendel Krochmal, the famous Rabbi of Nikolsburg, in his responsa (*Zemah Zedek*), frequently referred to the dangers they faced.

But despite the humanitarian protests of foreign countries and against the interests of the Government itself, the Jewish community of Vienna was destroyed a second time in 1670. It was expelled

because of the fanaticism of the Empress, a Spanish princess. For years a separate "Viennese Community" maintained itself among the Jews of Nikolsburg in the hope that it would be allowed to return to Vienna.

But if the community as a whole was not recalled speedily, individual Jews were soon granted entrance to Vienna. Samuel Oppenheimer was the first Jew permitted to return. There is a tradition that Prince Eugene once called him "the deliverer from the Turkish peril." Even if Oppenheimer was a usurer and profiteer, as some historians contend, he did much to raise Austria to the status of a great power and a State of world-wide importance, and he made the Viennese market a center of international finance.

The function of Court Purveyor among Jews soon gave way to that of Court Banker. Simon Wertheimer was the first representative of this kind of service. He enjoyed the regard of three emperors at a time when religious intolerance made it impossible for Jacob Emden to remain in Vienna. Nevertheless, there was some tolerance, for Prince Eugene and others of the high nobility, as well as foreign diplomats, visited him at his home.

Charles VI himself was not without such tolerance, for he showed extraordinary honor to Diego de Aguilar. Yet how far removed from him in spirit was his daughter, Maria Theresa! She, who has earned for herself a place in history as the wise and kindly mother of her nations, was guided in her

relations with the Jews solely by blind and boundless religious hatred. While the Chancellery specifically emphasized the "thriftiness and humble manner of living" of the Jews of Vienna, she called them, few as they were, a danger to the State. Yet a Jew, Arnstein, pointed out to her the mistakes of her foreign policy. Austria had lost standing in the eyes of many German States, so much so that it threatened to become the Balkans of Germany.

Joseph II succeeded in rejoining Austria to the West and in saving Vienna as the capital of Germany. His Jewish policy is well known. For the first time, a ruler took into sympathetic consideration the question of Jewish culture. He undertook to guide it into purely German channels, and as a means of winning the Jews over to his point of view, he prohibited the organization of a Jewish community in Vienna, at the same time that he prescribed one for the provinces. He did not wish any obstacles to Vienna's becoming completely German in culture.

This process of Germanization manifested itself among the Jews of Vienna as well as in the whole of the Monarchy. Everywhere the language of the upper classes and of the cultured element was German. Those Jews who inclined toward the West hailed Joseph's Patent of Toleration and participated in the new intellectual tendencies which came from Berlin. The others, Oriental in outlook, held fast to tradition.

The hopes for complete emancipation aroused by Joseph were soon shattered by Francis, in whom all

the darker features of the Hapsburg character were united. Despite this bitter disappointment, one great step forward was made even then in the Jewish struggle for equal rights, for he did away with the necessity of specifying one's religion in the military passports. Moreover, the days of the Congress of Vienna proved that Vienna's Jewry had attained a high place socially and culturally. Joseph's reforms may have done no more than forge the weapons for the Jewish struggle, but these weapons did not remain unused.

Tirelessly the Jews stormed the fortress of Reaction. In this, too, as so often in internal politics in Austria, social and personal influence was helpful. For the most part it was the prominent Jewish women who smoothed the way for the Jews.

Alexander David of Braunschweig, the Court Purveyor in the eighteenth century, favorably disposed the Empress Christine to the Jews. During the nineteenth century, Bavarian princesses, like the Empress Carolina-Augusta, the Empress Elizabeth who admired Heine and Judah Halevi, the wife of Archduke Albert, the victor of Costozza, and another archduchess who took Hebrew lessons from Rabbi Lazar Horwitz, all introduced an atmosphere friendly to the Jews in court. Emperor Francis was mindful of the patriotism and devotion to him of Michael Lazar Biedermann who, during the famine of the year 1807, loaned to the Emperor the sum of 300,000 gulden at no interest whatever, for

the welfare of the poor. He had also unselfishly provided the marriage-portion for three of the Emperor's daughters. There was, therefore, no one so well fitted as he to lay the foundations for a Jewish community in Vienna as he did by erecting the first publicly recognized house of worship in 1826. Thus did the Jews finally emerge from the period of individual privilege to that of the attainment of equal rights as a group. The entire community was united by the firm resolution to attain complete civic equality.

There had been times when the ghetto in Leopoldstadt was divided by differences of opinion. Sabbatai Zebi's pretensions as Messiah won some adherents. The difference between Eybeschütz and Emden had caused numerous quarrels, for they both had relatives and friends in Vienna or in families related to the Viennese. But the latest cause of dispute, the question of reform in the religious service, was fairly well adjusted because of the tactful handling of the situation by the spiritual leader of the Community, Isaac Noah Mannheimer.

When, in the pre-March days, Vienna was suffocating in the stuffy air of Metternich's police rule and was again in danger of sinking into provincialism, it was the daring spirit of the Jews that lifted the city anew into a position of international dignity. Jews created industries in Vienna, which they ably developed because of their brains and experience.

Jewish journalism in Vienna attracted attention abroad. Kuranda and Fischhof, in 1848, helped

give the death-blow to an outmoded form of government. The civic equality of all faiths was to rest on a common foundation of Freedom, Law and a liberal Constitution.

Judaism had become fashionable. A spirit of toleration moved through State and society. Jews were prominent in Vienna art, for did not even Johann Strauss have Jewish blood? They entered the Viennese medical schools, whose expert physicians to this day attract patients from every part of the world. They made their presence felt in the economic life of the city by establishing or directing banks, such as the *Nationalbank*, the *Escomptegesellschaft* and the *Kreditanstalt*. They built railroads and made other outstanding contributions. Their complete emancipation by the Constitution of 1867 was, therefore, not merely a gift of the gods. It was the culmination of a gradual and laborious fight in which the ground was won inch by inch.

The time has not yet arrived for a decision whether and to what extent the Jews have made the best use of the standing which they have attained. Of that, we of this day can hardly be the judges. We are living in an age of transition, when the very basis of this achievement, a State founded on Law, is in danger of destruction. But even if this State were to be replaced by one of racial foundations, we may hope that the Jews of Vienna will have their future well assured. They have made their way from tolerance to justice; and now they must rely upon another force to guard their future—that force

which regulates the relations between man and man and which makes man worthy of this human State; the force that builds the bridge of brotherliness between people and people—the force of Human Love.*

*See Appendix S, p. 528

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A (See page 50)

By a stroke of luck, the business archives of the family Steuss have been preserved to this day. That is unusual in the history of the Jews of the Middle Ages, and the fact was not known until recently. When the Jewish community of Vienna was destroyed in the year 1421, these archives fell into the hands of the Duke along with the rest of the Jewish possessions. The State Archives of Vienna still hold twenty-three documents of these records. They cover the years from 1364 to 1419 and are of particular importance for the history of this business house, for on the reverse side and in other parts of the documents there appear remarks in the handwriting of one or another member of this family. In the *Jüdisches Jahrbuch für Oesterreich*, 1932, I published a promissory note to David Steuss made by the Bishop John of Brixen for a hundred pounds of Vienna pfennigs, calling him "the honorable and wise, our dear friend." For this loan the Bishop pledged all his own possessions as well as those of the Cathedral Chapter.

APPENDIX B (See page 63)

The opposition of the Jews to a royally appointed Chief Rabbi is further proved by the flight attempted by Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg so as to escape receiv-

ing such an appointment by Rudolph of Hapsburg. Still another case is that of Asher ben Yehiel, a pupil of Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg, who went to Spain because one could accept such a position there, since Rabbenu Tam's threat of excommunication had no validity there. This is the reason also that Rabbi Johanan turned to Catalonian authorities in Spain, such as Hasdai Crescas and Isaac ben Sheshet, to sustain him in the unpopular position. An event that took place in 1407, the year of Rabbi Meir Halevi's death, will shed light on the entire affair. Rabbi Israel, most likely of Nuremberg, was appointed by King Rupert as "Royal Chief Rabbi of the Empire" and, in the decree of appointment, he was reminded of his duty to help replenish the royal coffers. He was to be the highest authority for all matters of concern to the German Jews. Half a year later, in November, 1407, Rupert issued an order in which he threatened the Jews with severe punishment if they did not submit to the authority of the Chief Rabbi. Decrees of excommunication issued by the rabbis against the Chief Rabbi's authority were declared null. The extent to which the Jews sought to eliminate any interference in their inner affairs by Gentile powers is clear from the preamble to Rupert's decree, wherein the King emphasized the fact that he did not arrive at this decision through any suggestion from Rabbi Israel or anyone else. It is evident that this opposition of the Jews to royal interference,

even when intended for their own good, carried weight and that is why Rabbi Johanan turned for support not to the king, but rather to Jewish authorities.

APPENDIX C (See page 107)

The history of some of these houses, for the most part on Tandelmarkt Street, of which descriptions have been preserved, is of interest to both Viennese and Jews. The actor Klischnigg, for whom Nestroy wrote his farce, *The Monkey As Bridegroom*, lived in Tandelmarkt Street, Number 6. The Zigan family, from which came the founder of the Zigeuner Synagogue of Prague, lived at Number 9. The house on Haidgasse, Number 8, was presented by the Emperor to Kulczyzki, the well-known founder of the first coffee house of Vienna, for his services during the Turkish siege of 1683. In Taborstrasse, Number 31, Anton Sartori, the writer, died in 1859. The Church of Leopold, which stood on the site of the synagogue, was destroyed during the Turkish siege. It was rebuilt in 1722 by Ospel, the architect, who also showed the first great display of fireworks in Vienna. Johann Weber, one of the ministers of that church, established the first Austrian savings bank in his parsonage, in 1819. Strücker, the defender of his Tyrolean fatherland, lived in the Kleine Pfarrgasse, Number 35. Number 22 of the same street was occupied by Johann Schober, the director of Schools. The residents of the house, Number 7 Tandelmarkt Street, bore the name Seipel, which

was that of the well-known Austrian Chancellor. In Grosse Pfaargasse, Number 1, lived a family bearing the same name as the Bürgermeister Lueger. Thus a historic thread unites the Vienna of recent and contemporary days to the ghetto "on the Lower Wörth," as this part of Leopoldstadt used to be called.

APPENDIX D (See page 112)

THE EXILES

The exiles had to face many dangers in their wanderings in search of a home where they might find a welcome, individually or in groups. Their story is well described by Jacob Wasserman, in his *Juden von Zirndorf*.

A number of Jews did not give up hope that they would soon be permitted to return to Austria. They therefore settled in places close to the Austrian border. From Nikolsburg, the best known Moravian community of that period, several outstanding Vienna exiles carried on negotiations with the government for five full years with a view to resettlement in Vienna, but without success. Prince Dietrichstein of Nikolsburg had permitted Vienna Jews to settle there upon the payment of protection money. Some of them were worth 200,000 florins or more, and were anxious to engage in the flourishing commerce of that place, particularly in the Moravian cloth business. In 1674, the Jews sought the intercession of the Prince with the chief steward of a certain

archduchess who "was not ill disposed toward the Jews," to enable them to obtain permission to return to Austria. For this right they were willing to pay the Prince thousands of florins and in addition to buy 20,000 florins worth of cloth annually from his people. Upon becoming his subjects they were permitted to visit the Austrian markets along with other Moravian Jews. One of them, Moses Austerlitz, won a reputation as a Maecenas of Jewish literature. These Jews from Lower Austria brought into their new home the dialect of the old. This has remained a relic in Schaffa, a Moravian border town which seems like a linguistic island. In Krensdorf, where the Prince-Bishop of Olmütz permitted the immigrants to live among the Christians, they built homes for themselves and formed a ghetto similar to that in Vienna. The son of Zechariah, who was a founder of a Viennese house of study, likewise founded a *Klaus* or talmudic school-house in his new home. Some members of the Teomim family went to Prossnitz. Frankel, founder of the Rabbinical Seminary of Breslau, as well as Zechariah Frankel, its first director, were descendants of that family. In the court of the synagogue of Prossnitz, was buried the murdered daughter of one of the Viennese exiles. In 1692, a Viennese fish-dealer complained that the Moravian Jews sold Moravian fish in Vienna.

The son of the Viennese *Dayyan*, David Spira, donated a curtain for the ark of the *Altneuschul* of Prague, the capital of Bohemia. He was the father

of a well-known chief rabbi and presiding officer of the *Zigeunerschul* of that city.

Three sons of Koppel Frankel, the richest man in the Vienna ghetto, settled in Fürth, Germany. They donated to the *Alt-Neusynagoge* of that place a candlestick which they had taken along from the synagogue of Vienna. They also left a memorial volume which may still be seen in Fürth. Unquestionably the book had been first brought to Vienna by refugees from Poland, for a prayer for the Polish King, Vladislav IV, of the year 1633, is found in the first section. For the most part, however, it consists of entries in memory of the honored dead of Vienna, among whom figure Ferdinand III, Leopold I, and an empress. A cabalistic prayer in it gives the names of many angels.

One member of the Frankel family established a house of study in Fürth, where he was Chief Rabbi. Hanoch Levi, another member of the same family, was on friendly terms with scholars in the nearby towns of Nuremberg and Altorf, such as Wagenseil, Christian Arnold, and Fronmüller, who later published his correspondence with Levi. There is still preserved in manuscript a German letter to Wagenseil, dated 1683, in which Hanoch Levi, who lived long before Lessing's *Nathan the Wise* was written, declares it unreasonable that one nation should condemn another, while maintaining that its religion was the only true one. Such were sentiments expressed by one of the greatest talmudic authorities of his

time! A son of his became the favorite of the Margrave of Ansbach and one of the most powerful Jews of Germany; but owing to the fickleness of fortune, died in prison. In Bavaria, in Sulzbach, the son of the Vienna preacher Ari Lipmann reestablished the well-known Hebrew printing-press which had produced important works down to recent times.

Other Austrian exiles went to Hamburg. They were among the founders of the burial society of Mannheim in 1674. Still others went to Halberstadt, Frankfort on the Main, Worms, and Brandenburg, where they organized a separate colony, especially in Berlin.

Anxious to advance his country economically, the Great Elector welcomed the wealthy Austrian exiles. Like Sultan Soliman when the Jews of Spain began to enter his territory, the Great Elector could well ask, "Wherein lies the wisdom of a ruler who impoverishes his own land in order to enrich mine?" Joseph Athias, the Jewish printer of Amsterdam, dedicated his German translation of the Bible to the Great Elector. "I dare say it openly," he wrote, "that since the time when Almighty God scattered our nation among other nations, it has never found greater charity, a better refuge, and more joyous peace than under the shadow of Your Highness."

The immigrants settled in Frankfort on the Oder, in Zülchau and in Berlin. Here the colony established a cemetery in 1672, and in 1676 organized a burial society (*Hebrah Kaddisha*). Their Rabbi was

the former Vienna *Dayyan*, Mordecai Model, father-in-law of a sister of Glückel of Hameln, who also had a son-in-law in this Berlin circle. By 1697, the Berlin Jews owned a synagogue destined for a long time to come to be enviously regarded by the Jews of Vienna. Out of this group came many important men, among them the Chief Rabbi of Altona, Solomon Neumark-Mireles, who was the father of a president of the Berlin Community and father-in-law of the Hakam Zebi (thus being the grandfather of Jacob Emden); David Frankel, the teacher of Moses Mendelssohn and descendant of Zechariah who had founded the Vienna talmudic school; and Veitel Heine Ephraim, who sponsored important scientific contributions, like those of Steinschneider. Among the descendants of this Viennese colony may be counted some of the most important Jewish families of Berlin, such as those that bear the name Israel and Gebert (to whom Georg Hermann dedicated two novels), and the Rathenau and Liebermann families. On the other hand, Berlin Jewry repaid Vienna by giving it the Itzig sisters, wives of Eskeles and Ephraim Arnstein, who transplanted the spirit of Moses Mendelssohn to Vienna.

Exiles from Austria were to be found, at the beginning and in the middle of the seventeenth century, also in cities of Poland, like Lublin, Lemberg, and Posen. From among those exiled in 1670, some went to Brest in Lithuania, Krotoschin, Posen (the new home of the above-named Dr. Winkler), Schwarsen, and Zolkiev. In Metz, France, Gershom Ashkenazi functioned as rabbi. Among his pupils

was David Oppenheim, the famous rabbi and book-collector. He, in turn, stood in direct and personal relations with Vienna because he was the nephew of Samuel Oppenheimer, the founder of the third Jewish community there.

APPENDIX E (See page 135)

The children of Emanuel became connected by marriage with Wertheimer, Arnstein, Hirz Darmstadt, Lämle Moses Reinganum, Chief-Purveyor of the army of the Electorate Palatine, and with Berend Cohen in Hamburg, where his son Elias was the protagonist of the Eybeschütz party in the quarrel between Eybeschütz and Emden.

Simon Pressburg, the great-great-grandfather of Heinrich Heine, was another member of the associated families. His tombstone extols him for opening up hitherto untrodden pathways for his fellow Jews. He supported learned men in Brod (Hungary), in Pressburg, and in Fürth. His son, Michael Simon, court-purveyor of Ansbach, suffered financial reverses. Another one of his sons became the personal agent of the members of the Czar's family and received from them their pictures as a mark of honor. During the War of the Polish Succession, he had charge of the Emperor's Russian allies. Nevertheless, in spite of all his riches and good fortune, he finally suffered the same financial disaster that his brother did.

Löb Zinsheim, a relative of Oppenheimer, removed to Vienna from Mannheim. He participated in some

very extensive financial undertakings. He established the Rashi Chapel in the city of Worms, which is supposed to be the place of origin of his family, and made of it a house of study. He also acted as a Maecenas, obtained husbands for orphan girls and supported Trebitsch and other communities.

His employee, Ruben Breslau, subsequently withdrew to Stampfen in order to be able to live modestly. He was the son of Philip Hirschel who lost his life in 1749 as a result of the powder explosion in Breslau, which a memorial-tablet near the Rabbinical Seminary commemorates. He was the grandson of Lazarus Hirschel of Pösing, who was first an employee of Oppenheimer and, later, became purveyor to the army and to the mint in Breslau.

One of the sub-purveyors under Samuel Oppenheimer was Abraham Spitz who, in later years, with his son Hirschel, became the representative of the Dentz firm. He was a philanthropist and a Maecenas and enjoyed a wide reputation.

Isaac Leidesdorfer, an employee of Oppenheimer, subsequently played a not inconsiderable rôle. A member of his family was entrusted with an important commission in the building of the Cathedral of St. Stephen.

In 1716, Wolf Margulies-Jaffe (Schlesinger) of Nikolsburg, and afterwards of Eisenstadt, and his brother Israel, received permission from Charles VI to settle in Hungary, subject only to the restrictions upon Jews. Israel had been tax-collector in Güns and was the ancestor of the famous Eger family. The privilege was granted to two others because

they had rendered distinguished service in support of the generals of the army during the struggles in Hungary. They had provided the army with cattle, arms, and other necessities of war at the risk of their own lives. For this, the rebels robbed them of their wealth. Wolf, during his thirty years' stay in Vienna, remained a member of the community of Eisenstadt, probably because he wanted to assure himself a place of refuge on account of the uncertain state of affairs. Among his descendants was the wife of Dr. Michael Hainisch, the first president of Austria.

APPENDIX F (See page 178)

Of the Viennese Jews, Emanuel Eppinger became a lieutenant in 1811 and participated in the Campaign of 1813. In 1823, he became a major in the Citizen's Corps, which was disbanded in 1848. The merchant Ludwig Götzl joined the cavalry as a volunteer in 1797, equipping himself and a groom at his own expense. Two sons of Samson Wertheimer, the Court-Purveyor of the Electorate of Saxony, who lived in Vienna, joined the army. One of them, Simon Wertheimer, became "Lieutenant of the Royal Cavalry Regiment of Sharpshooters." In the year 1797, five Jewish soldiers were equipped by the tolerated Jews of Vienna, and forty-eight of the foreign Jews who lived in Vienna volunteered as fortification-workers. Serving in the Home Regiment of Vienna, the *Deutschmeister*, were the following Jews, who had enrolled for a period of ten or fifteen years, and who, according to the official notation,

"never deserted": Corporal Simon Hirsch; Barthol Grünrock, about whom the further notation is made, "bears the veteran mark of the first degree"; Daniel Majorowitz; Nath. Jonas; David Jacobowitz; Joachim Froim, with a notation, "bears the army honor cross"; Heinrich Steinschneider; Solomon Hirsch; Herschko Mandlowitz, lance-corporal; Markus Schlesinger, with a notation, "bears the army cross"; Maximilian Schlesinger; Joseph Bollatzek, and others. Many officers bearing Jewish names were decorated with the golden medal for bravery, among them being the name of Sergeant-major Wiener (1809). In 1806, Corporal Joseph Pollak, a Jew, judging by his name, saved the severely wounded Major Marinowski.

APPENDIX G (See page 179)

HERZ HOMBERG

Herz Homberg, the first Jewish "school-councilor" in Austria, became a well-known personality in Jewish history. He lived in Mendelssohn's house from 1778 to 1782 as the tutor of his children, though one cannot feel assured that his instruction benefited them to any considerable extent. He also helped prepare the commentary on the Five Books of Moses in Mendelssohn's edition of the Bible. Encouraged by the issue of the Patent of Toleration, he applied for the position of tutor in pedagogy in Prague, his home town. The faculty accepted him, but the Emperor did not ratify his appointment, apparently

from personal disapproval. Homberg's character left much to be desired. He at times was on the point of being baptized, but never took the final step. It is little wonder that a son of his should have been a convert when the children of even Mendelssohn and of almost all other leaders of Vienna Jewry were.

The government soon found Herz Homberg very useful. It had been decided to establish "German Israelite Elementary Schools" among the orthodox Jews of Galicia in the midst of a Polish or Ruthenian environment. Detesting these schools as they did, they were all the more aroused against Homberg when he induced the government to impose a "candle-tax." This was a tax on whatever lights the Galician Jews kindled for religious purposes — a hardship which drained the poverty-stricken Jewish masses of Galicia of their life's blood for more than half a century, down to 1848. Homberg himself drafted this law in 1797, and received the Great Golden Medal for doing so. Soon his position as supervisor of schools in Galicia became untenable. He had to leave Lemberg and in 1801 came to Vienna. Here he became the Censor of Hebrew Books, and was entrusted also with the composition of religio-moral text-books for the Jewish youth. One of these, *Bene Zion*, was a catechism with which Jewish brides and grooms had to become familiar in order to pass the test qualifying them to obtain a license to marry. In 1818, he realized the ambition of his life and received the appointment as Extraordinary Teacher of Religious Morals in Prague, with the title *Schulrat* (School Councilor).

APPENDIX H (See page 224)

Consulting the Directory of the Manufacturers of Lower Austria for the year 1846, we find that only about five per cent of all those engaged in manufacturing and commerce in Vienna were Jews, although they formed from two and a half to probably seven or eight per cent of the entire population. Yet this book is authoritative in its statistics! The reason for the low percentage of Jews in commerce and manufacturing is because of the prohibition of Jews to live in Vienna unless they were among the tolerated, or among Imperial and Royal Privileged Wholesale Merchants, or possessors of a factory or a business concession.

Just how little the Directory in question, however, can be relied upon to give a true picture of the mercantile activity of the Jews of Vienna, is evident from the picture which Siegmund Mayer, relying upon his remarkable memory, gives in his work, *The Jews of Vienna*. He was acquainted with twenty times as many Jews in the textile business as the twenty-seven mentioned in the statistics of the Directory. From peddlers in the provinces there developed wholesale merchants and millionaires in Vienna, whose Houses are, in part, still in existence and whose descendants, by no means all Jews any longer, have played an important rôle in the history of Vienna Jewry and in some cases gained world-wide fame in German literature. Among these are the following names: Back, Biach, Bing, Brandeis, Geiringer, Stiassny, Trebitsch and others.

If further proof were needed of the inaccuracy of the statistics of 1846, it can be had in the fact that the very same Directory for the decade of the fifties enumerates one hundred Jewish produce merchants instead of the seventeen mentioned in the decade before, though there can be no doubt of the increase in numbers. But even these new statistics are far from telling the whole truth. Mayer counts among such merchants Heinrich Pollak, Joseph Bruckner, Hermann Frankel, Kunwaldt, Bernhardt Böhm, the latter being one of the greatest hat-manufacturers on the continent, and others.

APPENDIX I (See page 224)

LEADERS IN ECONOMIC LIFE

Max von Hönigsberg (1754–1832) stands out among his contemporaries. He was one of the Vienna Jews who, as early as the reign of Joseph II, joined others in the plan for the organization of a Jewish community. Possessed of Jewish knowledge and interested in Jewish affairs, he was among the first Representatives chosen in 1792, and remained one to his death. His father, Israel Hönig, was the first Vienna Jew to be ennobled, and the first Jewish State Official in Austria. He occupied the same place as had Diego d'Aguiar, and for his service in transferring the tobacco monopoly to State control, he was rewarded by the title *Regierungsrat* (Government-Councilor). At the time, Jews were excluded

from the possession of real property. The fact, therefore, that he, a Jew, was permitted to acquire a landed-estate, despite the objection of the nobility of Lower Austria, is an indication of his powerful influence.

Another important personality was Isaac Löw von Hofmannsthal (1759–1849). By origin a Bohemian, he too was active in the tobacco business. In 1789, he acquired toleration and in 1791 it was renewed for an indefinite period. He was a licensed inventory-commissioner, that is, an expert in business loans. He became the Director of Charities for a certain parish in Vienna and was ennobled in 1835. He was one of the founders of the first Temple building and a patron of Jewish literature. One of his descendants was the poet Hugo von Hofmannsthal, who no longer belonged to the Jewish fold.

Michael Lazar Freistädtl, who afterwards adopted the name Biedermann (1769–1843), is another personality worthy of note. He came of a family in Pressburg of which Heinrich Heine is also a descendant. He arrived in Vienna as a poor engraver's apprentice. Very soon his work won a prize. He became a Court Jeweler, a wholesale merchant in wool, an exporter on a large scale, a founder of a cloth factory in Moravia, and, finally, founder of a banking-house in Vienna still in existence. To him, above all, were due the building of the Temple and the further growth of the community in the first half of the last century. His descendants are no longer Jews.

Ignatz Liebmann von Liebenberg (1770–1844), of Temesvar, was a wool merchant and the nephew by marriage of M. Von Neuwall. For his services to the State in the sheep-breeding industry, he was ennobled in 1817. He owned a large landed-estate and was a Representative for a long time. His descendants, too, have gone over to Christianity.

Heinrich Wilhelm von Wertheimstein (1799–1859) was the son-in-law of Biedermann. He became a City Councilor of Vienna. He founded the first chocolate factory in the city operated by steam, and a sugar refinery in Galicia, which is said to have employed two thousand people.

Sigmund von Wertheimstein (1797–1854) was the head of the wholesale merchandising establishment "Hermann von Wertheimstein's Sons," and director of the Austrian National Bank. He became Spanish Consul and, at his death, left a fund for the Home for Invalids.

Hermann Todesco (1791–1844) of Pressburg was the son of Heinrich Heine's cousin. He inherited a yarn and silk business, but later engaged in military purveying. He traveled in foreign countries in order to study new methods of industry so as to be able to apply them in Austria. He established a spinning factory for machine cotton. He also financed the Southern Railroad of Austria and became its Director. He did not dismiss his workmen during hard times. He undertook charitable work of the most extensive kind for Christians and Jews alike. Just as Napoleon III built a church every time he established an institution for art, so Todesco established

charitable institutions at the same time as he did factories, in Pressburg, Vienna, and the nearby Baden. He conducted his home according to the laws of Jewish tradition. Shortly before his death, he became a Representative.

Marcus (Leidesdorf) von Neuwall (1758-1838), originally from Pressburg, was ennobled in 1817 for having organized the military hospital service during the Wars of Liberation. According to the statement of the Commander-in-Chief Prince Schwarzenberg, he achieved this organization "with astounding rapidity." One of the official leaders of the Jewish community since 1812, he continued as such despite the fact that his children had become converts to Christianity during their father's lifetime. It was in front of the dwelling of his son Ignaz in the Praterstrasse, *Zu den drei Alliierten*, that Emperor Francis officially greeted the rulers of Russia and Prussia on their entry into the city in 1814. Albert von Neuwall, in all likelihood a grandson of Marcus, played a very important political rôle in 1844, and when the question of the emancipation of the Jews came up in the Reichstag at Kremsier, he was the first to put himself on the list of speakers in favor of the Jews.

The Leon brothers, from Lautersburg in Alsace, established, in 1812, an oil refinery which became the leading one in the industry. The family became highly respected. Some time later, however, they became involved in a lawsuit that was widely discussed.

M. M. Baumgarten served as the middleman in the exchange of goods between Vienna and his birthplace, Galicia. Like Fanny Arnstein, his wife was a member of the Society of Noble Dames for the Promotion of the Good and the Useful, founded in 1810.

Bernhard Wertheim (1808-1869), one of many who bore this name, was Director of the Vienna-Raab Railroad, just as Heinrich Sichrovsky was of the North Railroad.

Isaac Figdor (1768-1850), from Kittsee, continued to direct the wool business founded by his father in Vienna. His son Gustav lived in London at the time, and was helpful to Grillparzer when he visited England in 1836.

Wilhelm Gutmann of Moravia had prepared himself for the rabbinate, but went into the coal business with one of his brothers. The business went by the name of the "Brothers Gutmann." He introduced the use of coal as fuel into the households of Vienna, Pest and Brünn. In 1865, he entered into a business partnership with Anselm von Rothschild. In 1867, he established a sugar factory in partnership with the Kuffner family, which originated in Lundenburg. In 1872, his firm acquired half a share in the iron works of Witkowitz. He was thus one of the outstanding industrialists of Austria. Elected president of the Jewish religious community, he founded an orphans' home for girls, a children's hospital in the Polyclinic, a home for invalids in Krems, and, along with Bernhard Pollak, the *Bet ha-Midrash* in Vienna.

APPENDIX J (See page 247)

In 1845, Isidor Busch, in coöperation with Reggio, added a Hebrew section to the German text of the Year-Book which he edited. Since, like Stern, he drew the inspiration for his publication from the tendencies of the defunct *Bikkure ha-Ittim*, he entitled his own annual *Bikkure ha-Ittim ha-Hadashim*, the New *Bikkure ha-Ittim*. It was as a contribution to this periodical that Letteris offered the first Hebrew biography of Spinoza. In 1848, Busch published the *Oesterreichisches Zentralorgan für Glaubensfreiheit, Kultur, Geschichte und Literatur* (The Central Organ of Austria for Religious Freedom, Culture, History and Literature). One number of this publication contained a Hebrew Supplement under the title *Meged Geresh Yerahim* (The Precious Things of the Yield of the Moons). He came to the United States in 1849 and died in 1898, after a notable career as a soldier and a politician.

In a measure this type of scientific periodical in the Hebrew language was published also outside of Vienna. In 1857, Ignaz Blumenfeld, a wealthy merchant who had moved from Odessa to Vienna, founded the *Ozar Nehmad* (Handsome Treasure). The issues of 1857, 1860, and 1863, which were rather small volumes, contained articles by Abraham Geiger, Dukes, Kirchheim, Jacob Levy the lexicographer, Soave, Carmoly, Luzzatto and others. Naphtali Keller, a Galician, again revived the title *Bikkurim* (First Fruits) as the name for an annual published in Vienna in 1864, using the Wertheimer

annual as a model. This Hebrew periodical dealt with matters of interest to the Jews. Keller died soon after, a comparatively young man, and Meir Friedmann issued the second number in 1868. Besides the two editors themselves, the contributors were: Lector Weiss, David Gordon, Letteris, J. L. Lewysohn of Stockholm, and Reifmann.

APPENDIX K (See page 249)

Publishers had issued Hebrew books in Vienna since 1544. During the *Haskalah* period, the more important among them were Hraszansky, Kurzböck, and especially Schmid, father and son. Schmid published the Bible in various editions with commentaries, the Talmud and the Midrash, the *Shulhan 'Aruk*, prayer-books of all kinds, including *Selihot* (penitential prayers). The censor prohibited the publication of the penitential prayers in translation because of the indignant references to persecutions which they contained. Schmid's firm produced also the works of Maimonides, Nahmanides, Samuel ibn Tibbon, the Rif (Isaac Alfasi), Rashba, Jonathan Eybeschütz, Azariah dei Rossi, Delmedigo, Abraham Pimentel, Bedarshi, Dod Mordekai, Reggio, and others, the periodicals *Kerem Hemed* and *Bikkure ha-'Ittim*, and the writings of Wessely and J. L. Mises. Among other authors whose works he published, were those of S. Löwensohn, who had come to Vienna in 1815 as proof reader for him. Like Samuel Romanelli, Judah Leb ben Zeb and Samson Bloch, Löwensohn also served as literary editor to

Schmid. Moreover, he wrote several works at Schmid's request. His *Melizat Yeshurun* (the Poetry of Jeshurun), published in 1816, dealt with the various forms of poetry in the Bible. It had a vital influence upon the Jewish youth and in fact was largely instrumental in bringing about the revival of the Hebrew language. It went through two editions. His geographical work *Mehkere Erez*, published in 1819, is still an important source book. Another of his works, *Vorlesungen uber die neuere Geschichte der Juden* (Lectures on the Recent History of the Jews), is the first notable work of its kind. He died young in 1831 because of disappointment brought about by unrequited love for a girl whom he tutored.

His predecessor as proof reader in Vienna, between 1792 and 1806, had been Meir Obernik, of the circle of Moses Mendelssohn—one of the *Meassefim* and a collaborator in the work of the *Biur*, the Mendelssohn commentary on the Bible. He was himself author of a biblical commentary. To the same circle belonged Samuel Detmold, presumably a relative of the Detmold who was Minister of Justice in Hanover. He translated Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles, and composed a Hebrew primer. Another member of that group was Samuel Romaneli, the admirer of the Arnstein family. He was the proof reader between 1793 and 1798 for Kurzböck, Schmid and Hraszansky. Among other works he composed hymns in honor of Francis I and the Archduke Charles. Judah Leb ben Zeb succeeded him at Hraszansky's and later at Schmid's. He

worked as proof reader only between 1799 and 1804; between 1804 and 1811 he published important works of his own which have since been reprinted in a number of editions. His grammar which went through twelve editions was translated into several languages. He was the first to undertake the teaching of Hebrew as a living language although he himself hardly believed in the possibility of its revival. His translation of *Ben Sira* is a masterpiece. On the whole the study of Hebrew letters owes him a great deal. Shalom Cohen (1810–1836) was the successor to Löwensohn in the Schmid firm and like him had the right of residence in Vienna because of his occupation as a proof reader. Among other writings he composed was a *Hebrew-German Guide to Letter-Writing* (1820), frequently reprinted.*

APPENDIX L (See page 250)

Moses Kunitzer, a descendant of the Great Rabbi Löw and of the Vienna cabalist Elhanan of the second Vienna ghetto, wrote a biography of Rabbi Judah the Prince. Part of it appeared in the edition of the Mishna published by Schmid in 1815. Aside from this he wrote a Hebrew guide to letter-writing, a work approving of the playing of the organ in the synagogue, and other works. He stood in close touch

*Besides the above-named publications, the following were also printed at Schmid's. Mendelssohn's *Logic, Parodies for Purim*, writings by Tropolowitz, M. E. Stern, E. Luzzatto, Almanzi, Peter Beer, and the works of Homberg and Letteris.

with the reformer, Aaron Chorin, with Reggio, and also with Moses Fischer, the Vienna Rabbi. He became the Rabbi of Ofen. While in Vienna his house was the center for all Hebraists.

Samuel Moses Neumann wrote poetic and pedagogic works in Hebrew. He sadly deplored the fact that the language was no longer used. Eventually he went back to Hungary, where he died in 1831.

S. Szanto established *Die Neuzeit* in 1861. After his death it was continued by Adolf Jellinek and appeared down to 1894. In 1867, Joseph Calvo began the humorous *Risi Bisi*. Later on, beginning with 1876, it was called *Judischer Kikeriki*. He also founded *El Nacional* which appeared in the Ladino dialect. In 1864, Shemtob Semo established the *Guerta de Historia*. The *Monatsschrift für Kunst und Wissenschaft* began to appear in 1851. In 1865-66, A. Hilberg began to publish the *Illustrierte Monatschrift für die Gesamtinteressen des Judentums*.

APPENDIX M (See page 251)

THE GENERATION OF THE WÄHRING CEMETERY

A visit to the Währing cemetery recalls the entire gallery of an important generation of Vienna Jews. Here lie: Joseph Veith, who used to sign his name in the *Bikkure ha-Ittim* with the initials F. F.; Meir Obernik, who used the initials R. K. for his articles in the *Meassef*; Ben Zeb; Detmold; Judah Jeitteles; M. E. Stern; Solomon Netter, who brought out an

edition of the Pentateuch; Rebecca Hilberg, daughter of the well known Isaac Erter; the rabbis Mannheimer, Horwitz, and David Oppenheim, who last served in Gross-Bezskerek; Meir Popper, who first lived at Almas and toward the end of his life at Mattersburg; Ruben Baruch of the Turkish Temple; Leopold Breuer, the religious teacher; the Arnstein family and the Eskeles family; Biedermann; Hofmann; Neuwall; Liebenberg; Lämmel, Jonas Königswarter, who in 1867 was president of the community and who built the Jewish Institute for the Blind, besides many other institutions; his wife, Josephine; Dr. Maximilian Engel, who represented the community at the meeting of communal representatives in Leipzig. From a previous generation there are represented here David Wertheim; Solomon Herz; Aaron Leidesdorf; Benjamin Landesmann, author of the book of religious instruction, *Ma 'yene Yosher*; Sichrowsky; Mordecai Königswarter; M. H. Weikersheim; Joseph, son of J. W. Nassau, who in 1803 was probably the first Jewish student at the gymnasium and an "auditor in philosophy"; Karl Abineri, who in 1806 was an apothecary (a profession forbidden to Jews up to the time of Joseph II) and then again under Francis; one Abineri who served as Lector of the Italian language at the Theresianum; Dr. Samuel Oppenheimer, physician at the Jewish hospital, who after being examined at the University of Pest had been permitted to practice in 1786 by Joseph II in spite of the objections of the Vienna Medical Faculty; his successor at the Jewish Hospital, Dr. Hirschfeld; Dr. Zechariah Wertheim, who occupied the same

post and was also a writer on medical subjects; Asher Matzel, a well deserving director of the hospital; Dr. Edward Schwarz, physician on board the ship Novara, the first Austrian ship to cruise around the world; Benjamin Solomon Spitzer of New Orleans, upon whose tombstone is written "as a North American ship captain he sailed twice around the world"; Solomon Reinmann, who published a description of his journey to India, China, Persia and Arabia, and whose great-grandfather Ez. Rachabi had also written about India; Israel Hönig, or von Hönigsberg; Eleonora Wetzlar von Plankenstern; Jacob Goldenthal, professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Vienna, the first unbaptized teacher at a Vienna college; Joseph Fischhof, from 1833 on professor at the conservatory of Vienna and owner of many autographs of Beethoven now preserved in the State Library of Berlin, and of Taussig, a friend of Richard Wagner; Ignatz Jeitteles; Mor. Hartmann; Mosenthal; J. S. Tauber; Landsteiner; Adolf Neustadt, editor of various newspapers and also of Letteris' *Wiener Mittheilungen*; Weil, a court-councilor in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; S. Brandeis-Weikersheim, the English Consul-General; Sigmund von Wertheimstein, Director of the National Bank; Hermann von Wolf, Director of the Creditanstalt; the three community councilors, Heinrich von Wertheimstein, Karl Schlesinger and Dr. Edmund Lewinger; Hirsch Kolisch; Elise Herz; Fanny, the wife of Ignaz Jeitteles, who besides establishing many philanthropic foundations contributed over 66,000 gulden to the Jewish hospital *Zum Universalerben*.

APPENDIX N (See page 284)

THE JEWISH JOURNALISTS IN 1848

The names of some of the journalists during the revolutionary years should be mentioned not so much because of their importance, but because their numbers and the radicalism that some professed have been a cause for complaint against the Jews in general. The reputation of these men was ephemeral.

Dr. Siegfried Kapper had been a coworker of L. A. Frankl. The poet Isidor Heller used to write leading articles in the newspaper, *Der Freimütige*. O. B. Friedmann was the son of the first licensed manufacturer of alcoholic liquors in Vienna. His factory was plundered in 1848 by the populace of an outlying district. His mother used to be called "the Mother-Protectress of the Viennese Deaf and Dumb." After repeated terms of imprisonment on political grounds, he helped found the *Länderbank*, which failed in the panic of 1873. He was the father-in-law of Ruge, the publisher of the *New York Volkszeitung*. In 1848, he published the *Gradaus*, which with a supplement, *Der Guckkasten*, was sold in editions of 15,000 at one kreuzer a copy. It used to be carried through the streets in a kiosk decorated with German flags.

Karl Beck, a Hungarian poet, was on the staff of the *Presse* in 1848. He was the author of the poem, *Die Taufe* (Baptism), which describes the resentment of the Jewish sailors of the Russian navy to the Czar's interfering with their religion. His brother, Norbert Beck, began in 1867 as a worker on the

staff of the *Morgenpost*. He was the President of the Academic Singing Circle. Joseph H. Eisler was a Moravian, Secretary to Saphir and coworker with him; later he was closely affiliated with Grillparzer. In 1848, he was employed on the *Ostdeutsche Post* and finally on the *Presse*. E. Fanta was one of those who fought in 1848. Some years later he was employed on the *Morgenblatt* owned by his brother-in-law, Landsteiner. Samuel Fischer, a Pole, worked on the *Fremdenblatt*, which is still published. It was edited by Baron Gustav Heine, a brother of Heinrich Heine.

Siegmund Engländer and Willy Beck, brother of the poet Karl Beck, founded a humorous newspaper, *Wiener Katzenmusik* (*Charivari*). At first Engländer was on the staff of the *Konstitutionelle Donauzeitung* owned by Dr. Hock who had been baptized. *Der Radikale*, on whose staff Tausenau served and subsequently D. Hermann Jellinek, was a paper of great influence. Jellinek, in the days before March, had been a coworker with Kuranda on his *Grenzboten*, but found him too bourgeois and lacking in enthusiasm. Jellinek was a wild-eyed radical for whom Isidor Heller prophesied the gallows. He began by being the leading spirit of the *Allgemeine Oesterreichische Zeitung*. Then he joined the staff of the *Radikale* upon which worked Simon Kolisch, Simon Deutsch and Heinrich Blumberg.

The *Studentenkurier* was one of the most radical papers. Adolf Buchheim, a student and grandson of Aaron Buchheim, Rabbi of Austerlitz, was one of its editors. He fled to London and there became

Professor of German Literature at the Royal College. The *Ohnehose* of Heinrich Blumberg was also radical, though its influence was slight. Only seventeen numbers of it appeared with a supplement called *Die schwarze Tafel*, in which money-lenders were pilloried. Beginning with the seventh issue, the name was changed to *Der Proletarier*. Along with some other publications, this newspaper represented the modest beginnings of the Social-Democratic movement in Austria. Moses Leidesdorf was also active in the early stages of this movement. He used to weave talmudic quotations into his speeches. He was imprisoned in 1868 for political reasons, and thus lost his position as teacher in the Jewish Children's Home. His predecessor here, Brandeis, who afterwards opened a private school, was most likely the last friend of Jellinek who saw him before he was shot, and who received from him a letter for his father. Leidesdorf and his wife earned recognition by their efforts to spread Froebel's kindergarten methods, in writing and by word of mouth.

August Silberstein was in 1848 the Secretary of the Academic Legion. He suffered two years of imprisonment for holding the office. He was the author of village tales, and edited the short-lived humorous journal, *Satan*. He also worked on the *Studentenkurier* and other newspapers. He was, besides, author of *Passah* and of other poems. The *Nationalzeitung* was published by W. Ehrlich and Adolf Chaizes, who afterwards offered his newspaper for sale. Among the least outspoken of the publicists of 1848, he was, nevertheless, of great importance

as a labor leader. Of quite moderate tone was the *Konstitutionelle Judenzeitung*, edited at first by Dr. Heinrich Löw. He afterwards gave it up for the *Oesterreichische Deutsche Zeitung*, a paper to which Hermann Jellinek was a contributor. Löw founded the first sanatorium in Vienna, which afterwards was considerably improved by his brother, and which still is the best known institution of its kind in Vienna. The *Presse*, under the editorship of Dr. Leopold Landsteiner, was thoroughly middle-class and opposed to every kind of radicalism. He realized that conditions could not continue as they were. Conducted like other Viennese journals upon the model of a Parisian newspaper, the *Presse* survived for a long time. Edward Warrens, alias Wolf Arons of Altona, had been a journalist and a politician in America in his youth. He had distinguished himself during Polk's presidential campaign and was subsequently sent as Consul-General to Trieste. There he edited the journal *Lloyd*. He was called to Vienna in the year 1848 by anti-revolutionary members of the government. He then changed his newspaper into a daily, *Oesterreichischer Lloyd*, which was modeled upon American newspapers. Thereupon he acquired a great deal of influence not only as a careful journalist but as a financier and public speaker. He was one of the founders and subsequently director of the *Escomptegesellschaft*, which is still in existence. Finally he published *Warrens Wochenschrift*, which became a profitable venture because of his skillful financial operations. Associated with him in conducting it was Jacob Löwenthal of

Lissa, who already in the thirties of the century had contributed to Bäuerle's *Theaterzeitung*, to the *Zuschauer*, to the *Oesterreichisches Morgenblatt*, to the *Humorist* and also to several Italian newspapers. By 1848, he had become well known as a national economist and took over the direction of the *Oesterreichischer Lloyd*, where he had as coworkers not only Warren but also Isidor Heller and Kompert. Friedrich Bodenstedt, afterwards a beloved poet, edited the *Triester Zeitung* in Trieste between 1851 and 1858. Then he became the editor and later the owner of the *Oesterreichische Zeitung* in Vienna.

Joseph Samuel Tauber a licensed stock-broker, had been a student for the rabbinate. With the assistance of Varnhagen von Ense he became a journalist in 1848. Among other writings he published in 1853 *The Last Jews*, *Ancient Ghetto Tales*. He also wrote the poem *The Miraculous Builder* dealing with the prophet Elijah, and translated Hebrew prayers into German verse.

The first to cultivate the art of caricature in Vienna was Märzroth, whose name was really Moritz Barach. He was a Viennese by birth and worked on the *Theaterzeitung* and the *Humorist*. In 1848, he published poems about freedom. He also composed several comedies and was coworker on the newspaper *Über Land und Meer* and on the *Fliegende Blätter*.

Ludwig Oppenheimer was employed in 1848 on the *Ostdeutsche Post*. He fled for political reasons into a foreign country, but was permitted to return in 1854, and then became a music publisher.

Adolf Frankel of Moravia had to flee in 1848 because of his activity in the Legion and elsewhere in the political field. In Leipzig, he published his political poems under the name *Wiener Gräber* in 1849. In 1851, he was arrested in Dresden and brought to Vienna, where he was imprisoned. Soon thereafter he was released at the time of the amnesty proclaimed upon the birth of the Crown-Prince. Subsequently he was employed as Secretary of the Vienna *Stadttheater* and finally in the *Deutsches Volkstheater*. Ignaz Goldschmidt of Prague was an active worker on the *Humorist*. A specifically Jewish periodical was the *Oesterreichisches Zentralorgan für Glaubensfreiheit der Juden*. Among the contributors to it were Mannheimer, Leopold Kompert, Simon Szanto, the revolutionist Simon Deutsch, all of whom described the sufferings and hopes of the Jews.

Gerson Wolf of Moravia, private teacher at Mannheimer's home, contributed to the *Humorist*, *Theaterzeitung*, *Sonntagsblätter*, and in 1848 to the *Radikale*. He was the Kremsier reporter for the *Oesterreichische Zeitung*, writing about the religious schools in the Jewish community. He wrote a large number of articles dealing especially with the history of the Jews of Vienna.

Ignaz Friedmann delivered lectures in Budapest on Jewish history. In 1848, he was in Vienna serving in the Engineering Company.

David Schwarz was the son of an inn-keeper. He became so absorbed in the movement for liberty that he left his home and property, and in 1854 migrated to America in order to escape the Reaction.

At the time of his funeral, all the shops in Cleveland were closed as a sign of mourning

In 1848, Dr. Rudolf Weinberger wrote *A Polemical Treatise in Favor of Jewish Emancipation*. He was one of those who attacked the government, and acted as newspaper correspondent in Kremsier.

Moritz Habrofsky was the President of the Students' Committee in 1848. Kuranda, who was one of the four members elected by the students to the Parliament at Frankfort, represented the Jews. There were two Jews among the deputies of the Academic Legion in the Reichstag. Several Jews were leading members of the Students' Committee: Dr. Fischhof, who was Commander of the Medical Corps of the Legion, Dr. Goldmann, and Unger, who were present at the delivery of the petition. Habrofsky figured prominently in the autumn of that year. Subsequently he was accused as an accessory in the murder of Latour.

Raphael Basch was the Paris correspondent of Kuranda's journal from 1850 on, and sent such provoking articles as to excite the attention of all Germany. He returned to Vienna and undertook the editorship of the only commercial newspaper of the city, one founded by Joseph Wertheimer, and bearing the name *Wertheimers Geschäftsbericht*. He was the counselor and intimate friend of the liberal minister Schmerling and of other political worthies. Later on he acted in a similar capacity in Paris as the intimate friend of Thiers. He was for many years the correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse*. He died in Paris at a great age.

Moritz Hartmann was a member of Kuranda's group in the Frankfort Parliament. He was the author of the *Reimchronik des Pfaffen Mauritius*. He also was highly regarded for his political news. He was a friend of James Holler, Kompert and Ludwig Bamberger. In his early years he was the family teacher in the home of Eduard von Wertheimstein.

Hieronymus Lorm, whose name was Heinrich Landesmann (1821-1902), deserves particular mention as a literary critic. He came from Moravia and was the brother-in-law of Berthold Auerbach. Born in Nikolsburg, he was blind since his twentieth year, and also practically deaf. Yet by 1846, he gained general recognition in Germany by his literary and poetic work. Fearless frankness characterized his writings; he properly criticized the journalists of Vienna, especially for the sycophantic praise which they showered upon Metternich. He called himself "the philosopher of groundless optimism."

There were a number of women journalists. Regina Froberg, née Saling, came to the home of Arnstein as a relative and soon gained for herself a respected position on her own account. In 1813, she definitely moved from Berlin to Vienna and won an honored name as a writer. She wrote dramas and novels, of which some have been recently reprinted. Her sister, Marianne, the handsomest of the four Saling daughters, was a queen of the salons during the period of the Congress of Vienna. She is known also because of her friendship with Goethe. She married a Spanish prince. Another sister, Julia, was baptized, but she largely retained her affiliations with the Jewish

people. She was the mother of the poet, Paul Heyse. The fourth sister, Clara, married Herz of Frankfurt, remained a conservative Jewess, and became the mother-in-law of the equally pious Willy von Rothschild.

Sigmund Kolisch was a friend of Moritz Hartmann. He began to write for the *Oesterreichische Blätter für Literatur und Kunst*. In 1848, he contributed *Short Stories from Vienna* to another Vienna newspaper. He served in the *Juristenkorps* of the National Guard at the outbreak of the Revolution. He was a co-worker on the *Radikale*, with Berber, Jellinek, Hebbel, Messenhauser, Dr. Kuh, Eduard Mautner, S. Deutsch and Johann Nordmann. Beginning October 20, he published the pictorial *Politische Privat-telegraphen*. After a short stay as a political refugee in Leipzig, he went to Paris. There, through Liszt, he met Crémieux and also visited Heine. Soon thereafter, he became acquainted with one of the publishers of the *Neue Freie Presse* and was invited to join its staff. A plea for his pardon, made by his mother in 1858, was refused by the Emperor with the statement, "Your son committed a serious offense." The pardon was finally granted in 1867.

Joseph Unger was a member of the Central Committee in 1848 and of the student deputation sent to the Minister of the Interior. Baptized, he received in 1858 an Ordinary Professorship of Civil Law. In 1869, he became a life-long member of the Upper House of Parliament and until 1879 he was one of the Ministers. In 1881, he was appointed President of the Imperial Court of Law.

Joseph Emanuel Veith of Bohemia was granted a medical degree in 1812. He was always a welcome guest at the Jewish salons and composed poems on some of the beautiful Jewish women. Baptized, he became a Professor in 1819, and then the Director of the Veterinary School. He was one of the earliest homeopaths. He also, in 1821, took up work as a priest. In 1832, his fame as preacher at the Cathedral began to spread. He was indeed one of the ablest preachers, and had command of an excellent style. In 1848, he founded the Catholic Society. During the excitement about the Damascus blood-charge in 1840, he ascended the pulpit, and with a cross in his hand, took an oath that the ritual murder accusation against the Jews was totally unfounded. According to secret police reports, he was an evil influence because he spread pro-Jewish propaganda in his circle. His younger brother, Johann Elias, also received a Professorship at the Veterinary Institute in 1823. Documentary evidence of his relations to the Jewish community exists only for the year 1834. Executive officers of the Jewish community asked him and his brother to erect a tombstone for another brother who had recently died and who had been Secretary of the Community. They promised to do so if allowed to inherit his property.

APPENDIX O (See page 319)

The minutes of the Jewish Community of Vienna reveal that some Jewish artists received stipends to pursue their studies. Thus, in 1822, the painter

Jakob Schakini, a Viennese by birth, received an annual stipend of 300 florins. Similarly, the engraver Anton Ehrenreich from Pest received support, as did the painter Leopold Gross, who in 1854 painted a portrait of the Emperor for the hospital. Philip Abraham and his son Solomon Philip Abraham, who was born in 1758, were tolerated Jews who came from Braunschweig, and worked in stone engraving. Two of their cameos each bearing a head of Maria Theresa and another with a head of Leopold II are to be found in the *Kunsthistorisches Museum* (Museum of the History of Art) of Vienna. As early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, M. D. Schiel, originally of Breslau, was employed in the governmental type-foundry. Later on he was granted toleration and became the first type-founder in Vienna. Both his son and his grandson were engaged in literary pursuits. The son was the private secretary of Marshal Marmot, who lived in Vienna and whose memoirs Schiel edited. Subsequently, he became an official at the *Hofbibliothek* (Court library) and the librarian of Metternich. Michael Löb Schlesinger (1780–1836) of Pressburg, belonged to the Margulies-Jaffe family, with which that of Heinrich Heine is connected. One of his sons became a royal broker on the Exchange. Another was the head of the Jewish religious community and a City Councilor of Vienna.

The Jews of Vienna should be mentioned in this connection also for their efforts in the support of artists. The painters, Kriehuber, Amerling, Führich, Schwind, Lenbach, Alt, Klimt, and others received

commissions from them. The mansion of Wilhelm Gutmann was decorated by Bitterlich; the first mansion of Epstein was also decorated by Bitterlich and Griepenkerl; the mansion of David Gutmann by Canon; that of K. Auspitz by Canon and Makart. The Rothschild palace contained a large museum with masterpieces by Tiepolo, Jean de Witt, and others. Elise Herz, herself a painter, possessed a valuable collection of old Vienna portraits. The Figdor collection, which was recently scattered, was world-famed.

APPENDIX P (See page 319)

JEWES IN MEDICINE, SCIENCE TECHNOLOGY AND MANUAL WORK

Jews were particularly numerous in the medical profession because other occupations were closed to them. Joseph Manus Oesterreicher, a Hungarian physician in a health resort, was the first Jew to gain a doctor's diploma after the publication of the Patent of Toleration. He presented to the Emperor, in 1810, an apparatus which he invented for the testing of food. For this he received the gift of a gold snuff-box. In 1818, the medical technical institute of Vienna was put at his disposal for the manufacture of a soda which he had invented. His son, Dr. Ludwig Oesterreicher, was ennobled. He became a Russian Court Councilor and Divisional Staff Physician.

The Jews contributed materially to the fame of the University of Vienna, especially of its Medical Faculty. In the arcades of the University with its halls of honor, where reliefs and busts of famous teachers are to be found, the names of Jews appear frequently. Among these are Ludwig Mautner, the noted oculist who achieved academic standing despite his loyalty to the faith of his fathers; the physiologist, Fleischl von Marxow; the internist and director of the Jewish hospital, Leopold Oser; the anatomist, Emil Zuckerkandel; the chemist, Adolf Lieben, who was likewise hard-pressed because of his Judaism; another chemist, Guido Goldschmied; the philologist, Mussaphia; and the physicians, Heinrich Bamberger, a successor of the famous Oppolzer and author of a work on Francis Bacon (1865); Kaposi, originally Kohn; and Leopold Dittel of Austrian Silesia. In 1861, Dittel became Head Physician of the general hospital and, in 1865, Extraordinary Professor of Surgery. He also did important work in urology. His pupil, Stoerk of Hungary, was originally a student of the Talmud, and later, as Professor of Laryngology, developed a new method for the use of the laryngoscope.

Aside from the above, the following should be mentioned: Herman Zeissl of Moravia, a specialist in the fight against syphilis. In 1861, he became Extraordinary Professor and, in 1869, Head Physician of the General Hospital. He enjoyed a worldwide reputation, was ennobled, and founded the Medical Relief Society. His fellow-countryman,

Isidor Neumann, worked and distinguished himself in the same field, and was also ennobled. His *Handbook of Skin Diseases* went through five editions and has been translated into practically every language.

Joseph Seeger of Bohemia was a physician at the Carlsbad health resort and, at the same time, Professor of Balneology in Vienna. He worked in the field of diabetes and was also among the founders of the Society for the study of medicinal springs in Austria. Franz Romeo Seligmann was a specialist in epidemic diseases and historian of medicine. He was a friend of Ottilie Goethe. Professor Johann Schnitzler, father of Arthur Schnitzler, treated diseases of the respiratory organs and of the blood circulation. Wilhelm Winternitz founded scientific hydrotherapy. His hydropathic institute (institution for water-cure) in Kaltenleutgeben became world-famous. Men of renown were also the following: the pediatrician, Kassowitz; the inventor of medical instruments, Gurtner; the great otologist, Politzer; the professor of experimental pathology, Solomon Strickler, who discovered the anesthetic qualities of cocaine and various other drugs. Particularly noteworthy was the work of Schenk in embryology, and of Julius Wiesner, a Moravian, who was baptized at the age of two and became in the sixties Professor of Physiological Botany at the Vienna Polytechnicum. For his part in the World Fair at Paris in 1867, he was awarded high distinction and subsequently received many honorary doctorates. In 1898 and 1899, he was the Rector of the University of Vienna and

received a title of nobility. Joseph Breuer was the son of the famous religious teacher. He was one of the most popular physicians and, at the same time, an outstanding scientist. He wrote about the sense of equilibrium and about hysteria in collaboration with Sigmund Freud. Samuel Basch was Professor of Experimental Pathology and official physician to the unfortunate brother of the Emperor, Maximilian of Mexico. Moritz Benedict, known for electrotherapy and nervous pathology, was appointed Extraordinary Professor in 1868 after much opposition because of his religion. He was a foreign member of the Medical Academies of Rome and Naples and a corresponding member of the Academy of Paris.

Julius Glaser, a Bohemian, baptized in 1860, became Ordinary Professor of Criminal Law. Subsequently he became Minister of Justice. He instituted a new procedure in the criminal courts and was finally Procurator-General at the court of cassation.

Joseph Popper-Lynkeus was the first to treat of the transmutation of electrical power. In 1867, he invented the use of turbines. He is also noted as a social reformer. Half a century later, two of Vienna's Jewish sons were counted among the Nobel prize winners, Fried and Barany. Other inventors were Siegfried Marcus, Rumpler, Lieben and Schwarz.

Sigmund Taussig of Moravia was in the employ of the State since 1865. For forty years he had an executive position in port construction to prevent an overflow of the Danube, and he protected Vienna against the constant danger of flood. He also did

much for commerce and industry. He was at the head of the Vienna *Israelitische Allianz* and also of the religious community. The last-named position was also filled at the same time by the governor of the *Bodenkreditanstalt*, Theodor von Taussig. Taussig began in 1866 as a minor official in a bank, and rose to the highest position in the banking world.

Rafael König, the first master locksmith in Austria, in his autobiography relates his experiences as a Jewish manual worker in Vienna. He first resided in Moravia and after many difficulties learned the locksmith's art. He attracted attention because it was unusual for a Jew to engage in manual work. He arrived in Vienna in 1826 and found work with a Christian master, who paid him the fixed wage and allowed him to observe the Sabbath. During an illness he was greatly impressed with the charitable conduct of the great men of the Vienna Jewish community. Mannheimer also once said: "To preach about charity here is like carrying coals to Newcastle." König thus describes his experiences in the Jewish Hospital: "It was during the ten days of penitence. Not an hour passed but the head of some household arrived with his servant or a woman with her maid. Entering the sick-room they left some refreshments near each bed. Sometimes they distributed excellent cookies, sometimes money. Some women presented each patient with underwear." In spite of the fact that he, as a Jewish journeyman, had to report to the police annually to receive from the government the certificate of residence upon which was written the word "indispensable," he still had to pay 30

gulden every year. Rafael König's resoluteness and strong religious loyalty were highly appreciated, not only by his coreligionists but especially among the Christians.

APPENDIX Q (See page 343)

CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS IN VIENNA

The Viennese Jews distributed charity in grand style. They contributed to the churches—for the *Votivkirche*, for the roof of the *Karlskirche* and for the steeple of the Cathedral of St. Stephen. They were not behindhand in general charitable activity. All Vienna knows of the sanitarium on the Rosenhügel, founded by the Rothschild family. The *Maria Theresien-Schlössel*, the Bettina Pavilion in the Wilhelmina Hospital, the Officers' Endowment in Hinterleithen, are likewise well known, as are also the Vienna Merchants' Hospital erected by Pollak von Parnegg, Wertheimstein Park and many other places. To the efforts of Joseph Wertheimer Vienna owes the Children's Homes (*Kinderbewahranstalten*), later established on a non-sectarian basis by Pollak von Rudin and the Kuffner family. The *Marienspital* in Baden was indebted to Madame von Pereira, the daughter of Fanny von Arnstein, for its establishment. The Guttman brothers contributed several beds to the Alland hospital. They were, with Rothschild, the leaders of the philanthropic society. Many Jews were members of the Free-Masons and of similar organizations active in non-sectarian charities. A

number of foundations were established by Jews, Eskeles in particular, for students of various institutions of learning. Jews were members of numerous charitable organizations which administered to the needs of non-Jews. The Jewish religious community had many charitable endowments of its own, which later became affiliated. There were endowments for religious schools, for rabbis and teachers, for the reciting of *Kaddish*, for the sick, for the orphaned, for fitting out brides, for the poor, for the education of girls, for schools of Bible and Talmud, for the theologians, for industrial training, for the training of artists (founded by Rothschild, Jeitteles, and Sigmund von Wertheimstein), for technicians, manual workers and laborers, for physicians, for those working in special scientific fields, and for many other purposes. There were other institutions, a child-training institution; a *Hebrah-Kaddisha* (Society for Burying the Dead); an institute for the maintenance of the poor; a poor-house founded by Fanny Jeitteles; an orphans' home, founded by M. L. Biedermann in 1839 on the occasion of his seventieth birthday; a women's institute, founded in 1821 by Frau Nassau, mother of the well known philanthropist, Wolf Isak; a hospital for contagious diseases, founded in 1844 by Sigmund von Wertheimstein; an institute for convalescents and for the care of Jews engaged in commerce (*Commisverein*, established in 1846); and the general Austrian Jewish Deaf and Dumb Institute founded by Kolisch in Nikolsburg, and directed in exemplary fashion by Joel Deutsch. There were, besides, the *Theresien-Kreutzer-Verein*

founded by Theresa Mayer Weikersheim for the encouragement of synagogue attendance, each member paying one kreutzer daily, and the singing society named Zion, organized by Dr. Adolf Jellinek in 1859.

Besides these communal institutions, there were those of the Spanish Jews who, though a distinct group, contributed to some extent to the support of the above-named institutions.

APPENDIX R (See page 389)

The building of the old hospital was eventually turned into an orphan's home. As early as 1861, Joseph Wertheimer established a Society for the Care of Orphans, whose beginning, in fact, goes back to 1825. In 1888, a home for the aged was established, and a home for incurables was added ten years later. A home for orphan girls was founded at the expense of the Guttman brothers. About two decades later, a home for orphan boys was erected and further provision made for the care of orphans.

Like most similar institutions, the *Versorgungshaus* (Asylum for the Needy) owed its establishment to private benefactions. It was, for the most part, due to a gift by the Wertheimstein family. Like other humanitarian institutions of the Vienna community, it was in danger of going out of existence during the difficult inflation days of 1920. Coreligionists in foreign lands, as well as Austrian Jews, brought timely aid. Among the latter benefactors

were the Committee for the Saving of Impoverished Jewish Philanthropic Institutions in Vienna. Some of the needy aged Jews are still being taken care of in city institutions.

The Institute for the Deaf and Dumb was removed to Vienna from the province, and, in 1857, thanks to Mannheimer's efforts, was provided with a beautiful home. When the Monarchy was dissolved, the Viennese Jews, whose free-will offerings had maintained the institution for the most part, could no longer afford to do so. It was therefore disbanded and the home in which it was housed was lost to the Jews.

The Institute for the Blind on the *Hohewarte* had been provided with a separate house by Jonas Königswarter. From the location of the institution was derived the title of nobility, "von Hochwart," granted to its founder, L. A. Frankl. It was opened in 1872. Frankl and Hirsch Kolisch, the founder of the Deaf and Dumb Institute, conceived the idea of establishing an institute for the blind because they both were threatened with blindness. The latter's efforts resulted in the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb.

There are several organizations which originated in the period under discussion, but had no separate domicile in Vienna. No Jewish community, for instance, is without a *Hebrah Kaddisha* (Burial Society). The existence of such a society has been noted in connection with the first and the second ghettos. The new settlement had a burial society at the latest in 1691. It was reorganized in 1763,

and has a sanatorium in Baden near Vienna. Finally, there were two other institutions, the *Frauenverein* (Women's Society), organized in 1821, and a Poor-house, whose existence was short-lived.

In 1932, there were in Vienna 201,513 Jews in a population of 1,865,780. Of the Jews, 43,284 were taxpayers, most of them, however, paying a minimum tax.

In 1930, there were 1,351 Jewish marriages. In 1931, 1,144 marriages and 320 divorces. There were 229 mixed marriages. In fact, since 1914, mixed marriages have increased by 100%. In 1929, there were 1,502 births. In 1931, there were 1,572 births and 114 suicides. The figure for births in 1929 represents a decrease of 55.3% as compared with 1914, as over against a decrease of 78.3% among the non-Jews. In 1929, there were 2,988 deaths, which represents an increase above 1914 of between 100% and 121.3%, as over against a decrease of 5.9% among the non-Jews. Between 1924 and 1925, 849 on an average a year left Judaism, while 166 entered the Jewish fold. There are about 60 houses of worship, most of which are merely *Minyanim* (small private congregations). There are about 15 Jewish educational institutions, including libraries, and a museum, 26 Bible and Hebrew schools, the above-named hospital, one *Kinderambulatorium* (nursery), as well as the other institutions mentioned above. There is a fairly large number of organizations of various tendencies. The number of communal officials is about 350. In 1930, the Community received 2,632,926 shillings from the religious tax.

The expense amounted to 1,228,531 for administration and the maintenance of statistics, 421,742 for religious purposes, 394,858 for education, 897,333 for charity, in which many private donations are included. A surplus was shown only by the administration of the cemetery. This amounted to 260,771 shillings.

APPENDIX S (To the Epilogue)

There are a number of landmarks of earliest Jewish interest, besides manuscript documents and museum antiques which have remained to this day in Vienna. First of all, there is the *Judenplatz* (Jew-Square) in the First District. On the very spot one may find the synagogue court, the center of Jewish life in the earliest ghetto. A house in that neighborhood still bears an inscription that recalls the burning of the Jews. The exact mound which was the scene of this catastrophe is in the Third District (*Weissgärberlande*), but it is now covered by buildings. Gravestones dating from the twelfth century are still to be found in the oldest Vienna Jewish cemetery in the *Seegasse* in the Eleventh District, as well as in the Jewish Museum of Vienna.

Of the second ghetto, there are still to be seen several houses in *Tandelmarktgasse* in the Second District. Of the time of Joseph II, there are the statue of Joseph Sonnenfels in front of the *Rathaus*, and the *Sonnenfelsgasse* which is named after him. Besides some other mementoes of this Emperor,



Ghetto House, No 12 Tandemarktgasse

there are also the *Toleranzhaus* in the First District, the *Fleischmarkt*, and the Währing Jewish Cemetery. From the days before the March Revolution, we have the synagogue in the First District on the *Seitenstettengasse*; dating from the time of Francis Joseph we have the temple, No. 3 *Tempelgasse* in the Second District, and the Turkish synagogue in *Zirkusgasse*.

In the halls of the University the following men are represented; by busts: Ad. Lieben (1876–1911), Ad. Mussafia (1860–1905), Leopold Oser (1839–1920), Stoerks (1875–1899), Ludwig Mautner, Mor. Kaposi (1883–1902), and Heinrich Bamberger (1872–1874); by statue: Emil Zuckerkandel (1882–1910); by reliefs: Ernst von Fleischl-Marxow (1846–1891), Dittel (1815–1898) and Guido Goldschmied (1911–1915). In the Jewish portion of the central cemetery (*Zentralfriedhof*) are the graves of Fischhof, Frankl, Jellinek, Popper-Lynkeus, Goldmark, Brüll, Alfred Grünfeld (for whom there is also a memorial tablet upon his residence in the First District, No. 10 *Getreidemarkt*), and Betty Paoli (1894), the teacher of the A Capella Chorus in Vienna. In the Arcades, there is the Mautner statue with symbolic representations of the Children's Hospital, Old People's Home, and Orphans' Home, founded by Mautner after he had abandoned his faith. There is also the *Mautnermarkthofgasse*. In the Arcades, too, are memorials to the poet Joseph von Weilen (1189), J. J. David (1906), and Peter Altenberg (1919). A bust of Sonnenthal is in the foyer of the *Burgtheater*. A statue of Solomon Rothschild is found along the

stairway of the *Nordbahnhof*. There is likewise a statue of Mendelssohn-Bartholdy in the building of the *Musikverein*, and a *Mendelssohngasse*. Streets are named after Arnstein, Pereira, Henikstein, Kompert, Lynkeus, Mautner, Mautner von Markhof, Sonnenthal, Ed. Lang, founder of the Lupus Dispensary, Ladenburg, Heine, Lassalle, Daponte, Mosenthal, Biedermann, Wertheimstein, Mahler and Kuffner. The sociologist, Dr. Ofner, whose statue is in the Second District, belongs to a later time. Some personal belongings of those mentioned are to be found in the Jewish Museum, Second District, No. 16, *Malzgasse*. Material illustrating Jewish life in general is to be found in the Museum for Ethnology (*Museum für Volkskunde*), Eighth District, No. 15 *Laudongasse*.

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